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# JOURNAL

OF A

*VOYAGE IN THE MISSIONARY SHIP DUFF,*

TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN IN THE YEARS 1796,  
7, 8, 9, 1800, 1, 2, &c.: COMPREHENDING  
AUTHENTIC AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL NAR-  
RATIVES OF THE DISASTERS WHICH  
ATTENDED THE FIRST EFFORT  
OF THE "LONDON MIS-  
SIONARY SOCIETY.

*Interspersed with a variety of singular incidents  
and adventures,*

WITH AN APPENDIX;

Containing interesting circumstances in the life of Captain  
JAMES WILSON, the commander of the Duff, when he  
was engaged in the wars in the East Indies, and  
taken prisoner by Hyder Ally's troops,—his  
bold attempt to escape, and subsequent  
difficulties.

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BY WILLIAM SMITH.

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*District of New-York, ss.*

(L. S.) **B**E IT REMEMBERED, that on the twenty-eighth day of September, in the thirty-eighth year of the Independence of the United States of America, WILLIAM SMITH of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Proprietor, in

the words following, to wit: "JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE IN THE MISSIONARY SHIP DUFF, TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN IN THE YEARS 1790, 7, 8, 9 1800, 1, 2, &c. : COMPREHENDING AUTHENTIC AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL NARRATIVES OF THE DISASTERS WHICH ATTENDED THE FIRST EFFORT OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY. INTERSPERSED WITH A VARIETY OF SINGULAR INCIDENTS AND ADVENTURES, WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING INTERESTING CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE LIFE OF CAPTAIN JAMES WILSON, THE COMMANDER OF THE DUFF, WHEN HE WAS ENGAGED IN THE WARS IN THE EAST INDIES, AND TAKEN PRISONER BY HYDER ALLY'S TROOPS—HIS BOLD ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE, AND SUBSEQUENT DIFFICULTIES."—BY WILLIAM SMITH.

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled "an Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching historical and other prints."

*THERON RUDD, Clerk of the New-York District.*

## PREFACE.

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AMONG the various literary productions which are continually offered for public information and patronage, none are so much sought after, or read with so much interest, as authentic narratives of the navigator and traveller. The mind of the reader, not being confined to explore any particular abstruse science, pursues them in their journey, and, with a fellow-feeling enters into their circumstances, when presented with the incidents and adventures, to which they have been subject. That pleasure and utility are afforded by perusing works of this kind, is generally acknowledged; the author, therefore, is of opinion that this little book will not be unacceptable, as the events therein narrated are conceived to be interesting, and suitable to all descriptions of readers.

This compilation, which, for the most part, was made from actual observation and experience, is respectfully presented, unadorned with studied elegance of language; it is therefore hoped that the reader, being only desirous of information, will also possess the candour to overlook the defects, in this respect, of which the writer is fully sensible; or the inaccuracies which may have escaped his notice.



The following pages are principally intended to exhibit the enlarged and benevolent object of the "London Missionary Society," whose motives were, to establish missionary settlements on the numerous groups of islands in the Pacific ocean; to disseminate the gospel of Christ among "those that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, being bound in affliction and iron;" and to introduce useful learning, and the arts and sciences; the preparation of the ship, her arrival at Otaheite, and the subsequent pursuits and disasters of the Missionaries; and the peculiar dispensations of Divine Providence, which the writer, and several individuals of the mission experienced.

The increasing intercourse of Europeans and Americans, with this remote part of the globe, has excited much desire of obtaining correct information concerning a people who have attracted such a share of attention and inquiry: it is therefore also intended to describe some of the peculiar customs and manners of the islanders, together with the situations, nature, and productions of this delightful part of the world.

NEW-YORK, JULY, 1813.

# JOURNAL

OF A

## VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.



### CHAPTER I.

An introduction, giving a view of the formation of the "London Missionary Society," the equipment of the Ship *Duff*; the designation of the Missionaries, and their departure from England.

**I**N the year 1796, a number of respectable persons in London, and various parts of England, friendly to the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom, conceived that missions to the numerous groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean, would be crowned with the happiest results. In pursuance of which, many professing christians of divers denominations, were united in a body, the more effectually to promote this laudable work, and assumed the title of "the London Missionary Society." Their views were principally directed to the Society Islands, the Friendly, the Marquesas, the Sandwich, and the Pelew; but the first object of their benevolent intentions was the Society Islands. Accordingly the *ship Duff* burthened 300 tons, com-

manded by captain James Wilson, was purchased and prepared for the reception of the Missionaries ; who were also abundantly supplied by the Society with mechanic tools, clothes, books, medicines, &c.

August 10th, 1796. The ship being complete in her equipment, thirty persons having been selected, were assembled by the Directors at the house called Zion Church in Whitechapel, and were publicly designated as Missionaries; when each was presented with a bible, accompanied with an impressive charge suitable to the solemnity of the occasion.

After the solemn appointment of the Missionaries to their work, the evening preceding their embarkation, they were assembled with the Directors, and many other christian Friends at Haberdashers' Hall, where they united in "breaking of bread and prayers." The Missionaries were then commended to the discharge and protection of the great Head of the church.

At 4 A. M. many christian friends from London accompanied the Missionaries to the ship, which was laying at Blackwall.

At 6 A. M. weighed anchor, and dropped down to Gravesend. Displayed the Missionary banner at the mizen top gallant mast head,—viz. three doves, argent, each a sprig of olive in her mouth, on a field of blue : in passing down the river, amidst numerous spectators, sung several hymns suitable to the occasion.

At 11, came to an anchor off Gravesend. Many friends who had accompanied us hence from London,

took their affectionate leave. Three of the directors, viz. Dr. Hawies, Mr. Wilkes, and Mr. Brooksbank, remained on board, designing to proceed with the ship to Portsmouth, and to assist in making the necessary arrangements for the voyage. This night, being the first the Missionaries passed on board of ship, (all but two or three being landmen,) considerable difficulties arose respecting the *slinging* and making a right use of their hammocks: some in attempting to get in manifested such a degree of awkwardness, that instead of obtaining their object, they fell over on the other side to the deck; but after a few instructions and experiments they managed pretty well, and found their new-fashioned beds very comfortable.

August 11th, 1797. The Missionaries were employed in preparing for sea, stowing away, fixing chests, clearing decks, &c., and were divided into messes, the families and single men separately.

13th, P. M. Pleasant breeze and fair. Weighed anchor and proceeded for the Downs: the wind continuing fair, concluded to sail for Portsmouth.

14th being Sabbath, Dr. Hawies preached in the morning on the quarter deck: the afternoon was occupied by Mr. Brooksbank, and the evening by Mr. Wilkies. We were perhaps the first professing church which ever employed the first day of the week in that capacity, in such a situation, and on so singular an occasion.

15th, about 8 A. M. a sloop of war hailed us, and gave information of a French privateer lurking about



in the offing: after the usual ceremony, the sloop hauled her wind and stood in the supposed direction of the privateer. Shortly after our separation from the sloop, we heard two guns; the report came from the direction in which the sloop stood. Probably she had fallen in with the enemy.

13th, at 6 A. M. arrived in sight of Spithead; and shortly after came to an anchor: hoisted the Missionary colours, as signal to our friends at Portsmouth; when Mr. Griffin of Portsea, Mr. Eyre of Hommerton, Mr. Bogue of Gosport, and many other friends came off. Also we were boarded by a lieutenant from the admiral's ship, who knew nothing of the equipment, or the object we had in view. Our appearance, together with the strange colours, excited no little surprise among his majesty's servants. Here we expected to join the East-India fleet; but it had sailed 3 or 4 days previous to our arrival; we were then under the necessity of waiting the appointment of another convoy. Shortly after, his majesty's ship, the *Adamant* of 50 guns, was appointed as convoy to some vessels bound to Gibraltar; with whom it was determined we should join in company.

Captain Wilson, and brother Harris and Gillham, joined the ship; they having had some business to transact, could not conveniently embark in London. Brother and sister Hudden quitted the ship on the 17th, in consequence of Mrs. H. declining to accompany the mission. The Directors, therefore, thought it improper to continue Mr. H. as a Missionary under those circumstances. This was much regretted by



him and the Missionaries, who were under the necessity of so soon parting with one whose affection and interest, and godly conversation, were so manifest.

A passage-boat was employed for the use of the ship, by which the Missionaries had frequent opportunities of visiting their friends on shore, and attending the worshipping societies of Portsmouth.

23d. The Missionaries were invited to spend the evening on shore, where Dr. Hawies was requested to preach at Mr. Griffin's meeting.

25th. This morning departed this life, on board the Duff, James Cover, Jun., son of James and Mary Cover, aged 13 years, after a sickness of about 5 weeks. The funeral took place the following day ; accompanied by all the Missionaries to the Episcopal burying-ground of Portsmouth. Brother Cover was desirous of making some observations suitable to the solemnity of the occasion, but was prevented therefrom by the parish priest.

Sept. 2d. James Gaulton was received on board to officiate as cook to the Missionaries during the voyage, and also as a Missionary, should his deportment be approved. During our stay here, the writer was visited by several of his friends from London, which afforded many very agreeable and interesting hours in their company.

Sept. 10th. At 8 A. M. the wind veered round to a favourable point ; the Adamant made signal for sailing. Between 9 and 10 o'clock the fleet weighed anchor, intending to proceed through the Needles. Our ship was laid to for brother Harris, who was on

shore, and also for Dr. Hawies to take his leave of us ; but at about 11 o'clock, finding that neither of them were to be seen, and the fleet increasing their distance, we bore up, and made after them.

At 1 P. M. the wind heading us, the convoy made signal for anchoring. Tacked ship and stood back again for Spithead. At 3 P. M. came to an anchor near our former situation; and in the evening, Dr. H. and brother Harris came on board.

Sept. 11th, being Sabbath, Mr. Love, of London, preached in the morning on board; in the afternoon, Mr. Bogue of Gosport, and in the evening, brother Eyre.

22nd. At 10 A. M. the wind being favourable, the convoy made signal for sailing. About half past 10, weighed and made sail for St. Helens, in company with the fleet. At noon the weather becoming calm, came to off St. Helens. At 2 P. M. Dr. Hawies preached his farewell sermon from 3d ch. Hebrews, 1st v.; after which he took his leave, and returned to Portsmouth.

23d. At 5 A. M. the convoy made signal for sailing, there being a fine breeze from the eastward: at 6, the fleet, amounting to about 70 or 80 sail, was under way, and pursued its course down the Channel.

24th, P. M. arrived off Plymouth: signal was made for the fleet to lay to, as we were here in expectation of being joined by some other vessels: continued laying to until morning, owing to a heavy sea. Many of the Missionaries were sick; but the writer has reason for great thankfulness that he has not expe-

rienced that distressing complaint, so common to young seamen.

25th, at 6 A. M. Made sail towards Falmouth; shortly after, the convoy made signal for the fleet to lay to; when, about 10 A. M. we were joined by a frigate and sloop of war. We then pursued our course down channel with pleasant weather and the wind fair. At 6 P. M. the Lands-end bore north distance about 5 leagues: night coming on, we soon lost sight of our native shores, and on the part of the writer, not without sincere regret.

29th. Wind fair, and pleasant weather, in company with the convoy, sailing about 6 knots. This day a hawk was caught by the writer on the main-top-gallant stay, being about 500 miles from the nearest land. Almost as soon as it had pitched, it was asleep, consequently was easily secured.

30th. Fresh breezes and pleasant weather: in company with the convoy. Lat. at noon  $44^{\circ} 51' N$ . At 1 P. M. hoisted our ensign as signal to the Commodore for quitting the fleet: the convoy answered by doing the same. Whilst in company with the fleet our progress was much retarded by several dull sailing vessels therein. Frequently we were abreast of the Commodore under three topsails only, while many were far astern under all sail; therefore we were not sorry at the arrival of this period. Crowded all sail, and stood from the fleet, as did also two other vessels, supposed bound to the West Indies. At 8 P. M. no vessels in sight: all sails set, with fresh and pleasant breezes.

Oct. 6th. At 6 A. M. discovered land bearing south. (Madeira.) Fresh breezes and fair; all sail set. At 8 P. M. squally weather: a vessel passed to leeward, standing to the N. E.

10th. Saw a strange sail in the S. E. standing S. W. obliquely across us. At 11 she hoisted English colours, and fired a gun to leeward, which we answered by doing the same. The stranger immediately crowded all sail and stood from us: no doubt from the numbers appearing on our deck, they supposed we were a ship of war.

13th. Saw the island of Salt right a-head. At noon abreast of the island distant about 2 or 3 leagues. Pleasant weather. At 5 P. M. we were abreast of the island Bonavista, distant 3 leagues: saw a vessel at anchor under the land. Bent the cables; the captain intending to anchor at St. Jago.

14th. Saw the island Mayo on the starboard bow distant about 3 leagues. Caught 2 barracutas, weighing about 3 or 4 pounds. Saw four ships at anchor under the land. At 11 A. M. discovered St. Jago, — hauled up for the island. At half past 2, anchored in Praya Harbour, in company with an American brig. Here we procured a fresh supply of water, and other necessaries. The town of Port Praya is built upon a rocky hill, and the external appearance, together with their mode of living, and society, is not very inviting.

15th. After procuring several necessary articles, at 7 P. M. weighed anchor, and made sail. The

Missionaries embraced this opportunity of conveying letters to England by the American brig.

18th. At 2 P. M. discovered a strange sail in the west, steering as if to speak us. At half past 6 she came within pistol shot. The night being very dark, the ship appeared large, with her gun deck ports open and illuminated from stem to stern. This formidable appearance was a grand but dismal sight to us; for supposing she was an enemy, we were in anxious suspense whether we should be carried to France or Otaheite. But our fears soon subsided; on hailing, she proved to be the Jack Park of Liverpool, bound to the coast of Guinea for slaves; and of twenty-two vessels she had examined, we were the only English one.

Oct. 29th. At 2 A. M. crossed the equator,—fresh and pleasant breezes from the S. E. At noon, lat. 0 41' S. The usual ceremony observed by Neptune and his company on this occasion was omitted.

31st. Discovered the coast of South America on the starboard bow, distant about 11 or 12 leagues. At 10 A. M. the society met for the election of a new committee; after which some conversation ensued concerning our future plan of operations. The majority of the Missionaries concurred in opinion that a separation of the society in detachments amongst the islands, would be most likely to answer the object of the mission. However nothing decisive at this time took place as to the formation of parties.

Nov. 11th, discovered land on the starboard bow,



At 2 P. M. passed Cape Frio, distant 3 leagues,—shortened sail, standing off and on shore.

12th, A. M. Saw a brig and several small boats in various parts. At half past 7, spoke one of the country boats, but could not understand each other. Hauled in for the land. At 9 discovered the harbour of Rio de Janeiro. About 1 P. M. the harbour-master came on board, and took charge of the vessel as pilot: having arrived abreast a fort at the entrance of the harbour, the boat was sent on shore, and soon after returned with an officer and a private soldier. At 3 the ship was brought to an anchor about half a mile from the shore. A guard boat and guard were stationed to prevent smuggling: they remained at the buoy all night.

Sunday 13th. Omitted public worship this morning on deck: it was also reported there was to be no public preaching this day; a fear prevailing that on observing our usual mode of worship on the first day, we should give offence to the Portuguese, who are Roman Catholics. The Missionaries observed that if no better reason could be rendered for omitting worship, they would be under the necessity of entering their protest against it. One of the brethren requested an interview with captain W. on the subject, who soon after returned with information, that we were at liberty to proceed as usual. Brother Lewis commenced the morning worship, and preached from 3d Gal. 12th v. Some of the officers and men from the guard boat attended the worship: they

were very attentive, and appeared pleased, particularly when the words "Jesus Christ" were introduced. They were very inquisitive, but to our regret we were not able to understand their interrogatives. In the afternoon brother Cover preached, when the officers and men from the guard boat were present, and were equally attentive as in the morning.

14th. The officers of inspection came on board, inquiring respecting the ship's cargo, her destination, &c. The 1st and 2d mates went on shore to undergo an examination. About 6 A. M. the officers retired from the ship, together with captain W. At 8 the captain and mates returned on board. We here embraced an opportunity of addressing letters to our friends; and one was also sent to the directors of the Society in London.

The Missionaries were permitted to go on shore in small parties, but were always attended by an officer of the guards: the inhabitants behaved with great civility. The city is well formed, the streets wide and commodious, the buildings being erected mostly after the European fashion, though generally they are destitute of glass windows, instead of which they substitute Venetian blinds. The harbour is capacious, and could safely receive an immense number of shipping: the anchorage is very good, and surrounded by a beautiful and fertile country, variegated with vales, hills, and mountains. During our stay here, a vessel arrived from the coast of Africa, laden with a portion of the natives of that country, a people devoted to the avarice and cruelty of civilized nations, and professors

of christianity. Here, as in other parts of the continent and the West Indies, the ocean groans with the burdens of this iniquitous traffic. On this occasion, the *Monasteries*, *Nunneries*, and other public places were illuminated, and joy and pleasure appeared evident in most of the inhabitants. On the following day, the distressed and unoffending Africans were landed, and publicly sold in the market to the highest bidders. It may not be improper to remind those persons who call themselves christians, who are found stealing and selling their fellow-creatures, that these are crimes ranked among the blackest and foulest recorded in the sacred scriptures; and that the eternal, and sin-avenging God, with whom we have to do, is both holy and jealous, and cannot, consistent with his character, with any allowance look upon, or pass by sin. See 1st Tim. 1st ch. 10th v. wherein it will be observed that "*men-stealers*" are particularly noticed; and against whom the sword of divine justice is unsheathed, which must (without repentance) inevitably sink them lower than the grave.

Many who purchase these unoffending stolen creatures, pretend to justify themselves by a futile argument. It has been observed that they did not go to the coast of Africa to steal them; and to purchase them when in this situation, will no doubt ameliorate their condition. It will only be necessary to remark, that, if there were no receivers of stolen property, there would be but few thieves; and that the receivers of stolen property, *knowing it to be stolen*, are in the eye of the law considered more nefarious than

the thief. " Let him that stole steal no more ; but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth."

There is a great number of monks, friars, and nuns, in this city ; and images representing the crucifixion are placed in various parts, on the front of many of the private as well as public buildings. Idolatry, ignorance, and superstition apparently reign here triumphant. Wooden gods are with some *professing christians* in as great estimation, as with the most barbarous pagans. After having procured a supply of fresh provisions and water, on the 20th Nov. at 10 A. M. weighed anchor and proceeded to sea ; at 7 P. M. lost sight of the coast.

29th. Wind fair, and pleasant weather through this day. Lat  $34^{\circ} 55'$  S. At half past 10 P. M. the wind freshened and began to draw forward ; at 11 P. M. came on a heavy squall, accompanied with lightning and rain. This being the first severe weather experienced since leaving England, it created no little disquietude among the Missionaries. The ship heeling very considerably, together with the seas frequently breaking in upon the decks, they were soon awaked by the confusion, and supposed the ship had struck upon a sand-bank. Their fears were, however, soon dispelled by a message from the deck, stating the situation of the ship, the weather, &c.

Dec. 3d. Having laboured since the 29th against contrary and strong gales, and heavy seas frequently breaking in upon the decks, and no prospect of the

weather moderating, captain W. gave up his intention of sailing round Cape Horn, being apprehensive that in persevering in endeavouring to double the Cape, the unseasoned company of landmen, women, and children, might fall victims to the repeated storms which might be expected; and concluded to make the eastern passage by the Cape of Good Hope. Shaped the vessel's course accordingly, setting what sail the ship could bear. In the course of the four first days we ran by the log, about six hundred and forty miles.

This gale continued about three weeks with little variation, blowing with great violence; the ship scudding under close reefed topsails and foresail, and running, on an average by the log, every day about two hundred miles.

The rapid advances we were making towards the place of our destination, were truly pleasant. Nothing particular occurred for four weeks. The time was principally employed by the Missionaries in making the necessary arrangements for the regulation of their future conduct. We were visited by great numbers of birds, and also whales and porpoises frequently played about the ship. There being an harpoon on board, I watched the opportunity, while the porpoises were playing under the bows, and succeeded in striking several, only one of which was got on board; some parts of it afforded a fresh meal, and the blubber produced four gallons of good oil.

On the 29th Jan. we passed the meridian of the south cape of New Holland; and on the 14th Feb.



were thirty-two leagues to the southward of the south cape of New Zealand. On the 15th we were nearly antipodes to our friends in London. On the 17th we met with an awful storm, by far the most severe of any we had hitherto experienced : our vessel was laid to, under her main stay sail, and mounted over the waves like a duck. On the 21st in the afternoon, the pitch-kettle being placed on the fire by the carpenter, whilst caulking the decks, the man who was left to take care of it, suffered it to boil over : immediately it blazed up with surprising fury ; he had, however, the presence of mind to lift it off the fire, and so prevented the dreaded conflagration. Though the cabouse was remarkably dry, and the foresail hanging down over it, (which, had the fire caught the sail, must have instantly communicated the flames to the rigging :) providentially no harm was done ; and by the great exertions of Mr. Wm. Wilson and others, the fire was quickly extinguished.

Ninety-seven days had now elapsed since we left Rio Janeiro, and except one vessel which we met about a week after our departure, we did not in all this time see either ship or shore ; and had sailed by the log near fourteen thousand miles : a greater distance probably than was ever before run without touching at any place for refreshment, or seeing land.

In the month of February 1797, we arrived in sight of the island Toobouai, but did not make any stay there. Shortly after, we were visited by one of the most tremendous thunder-storms that we ever had witnessed ; and one that astonished the oldest seamen

on board. The clouds dashed furiously against each other, and the whole atmosphere was in general confusion : the night dark, together with the vivid and incessant lightning, presented a scene very interesting, and awfully grand : but the tempest abated, after a continuance of about two or three hours, without any material injury. One of the officers, and two of the sailors were slightly touched with the lightning.

March 4th, we arrived in sight of the long-wished-for island Otaheite ; discovered the land at the distance of about sixty miles : pleasant weather, but light breezes throughout the day. At night approached within a few miles of the shore : continued to lay off and on till the morning. As soon as daylight appeared, and our ship could be seen from the land, we discovered canoes paddling from various parts towards us ; on their nearing the ship, we observed they were mostly laden with the delicious fruits of their prolific island, together with hogs, poultry, cloth, and sundry other *merchandize* ; which, after such a lengthy voyage, were very acceptable and refreshing. The following day continued beating against the trade winds, between the islands Otaheite and Eimeo. This day, from eighty to an hundred canoes of various sizes were counted alongside, containing on an average about six or eight natives.— They were uniformly laden with hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, &c. The next day came to an anchor in Matavai Bay, when the ship was immediately surrounded with vast numbers of canoes which had assembled here from every part of the island, and a

considerable number of the natives were on board, having brought presents of every description which their island affords, for the refreshment of their visitors. Each of the Missionaries, together with the captain and the ship's company, was selected by one or other of the principal natives, to be considered as *Tayo* (or friend;) when, in consequence of this union, an intercourse of individual friendship more particularly subsisted. Their profession of friendship was very modestly and facetiously observed; and for a considerable time they persisted in their refusal of presents in return for the abundance with which they had supplied us. In short, the quantities were so great that we were under the necessity of requesting a suspension of their great and continued liberality. The decks were encumbered with hogs, cloth, poultry, and fruit of every description; which, in a measure prevented an attention to the necessary business of the ship.

On our arrival we were agreeably surprised by finding three natives of Sweden, who had resided on the island about 4 years, and whom we found very useful as interpreters. They informed us that they were cast away on a reef of rocks, at the distance of about three hundred miles, in a ship called the *Matilda*; when they embarked in their boat, and arrived safe at this island; and as the spontaneous productions, together with the habits of the islanders, suited their dispositions, they concluded to make this their abiding place. The natives took possession of the boat, and immediately broke it up, to procure the iron-

work, in order to make *fish-hooks*. It may be entertaining here to notice their simplicity in a transaction which occurred at this time. The Swedes had secured and brought with them a considerable number of *Spanish dollars*; which, when the natives found them, they endeavoured also to convert into hooks; but the metal proving not to be *good enough* in their estimation for that purpose, and not knowing of what other use to appropriate them, they entertained themselves with the diversion of skipping them on the water, till the whole were expended.

Otaheite was the original destination of the Missionaries; but in the event of their being disposed to form parties, they were permitted so to do. Some, therefore, were of opinion that a division would be most likely to accomplish the enlarged views of the Missionary Society: in consequence of which the following members agreed to disembark at this island, viz. James Cover, John Eyre, John Jefferson, Thomas Lewis, Henry Bicknell, John Cock, Samuel Clode, I. A. Gillham, Peter Hodges, William Henry, Rowland Hassall, Edward Main, Henry Nott, Francis Oakes, James Puckey, William Puckey, and William Smith, together with the women and children; and the remainder agreed to separate, viz. Daniel Bowell, Benjamin Broomhall, John Buchanan, James Cooper, Samuel Harper, Seth Kelso, William Shelly, George Vason, and James Wilkinson,—designed to settle on the island Tongatabboo, one of the group of the Friendly Islands; and John Harris and William Crook concluded to settle on the Marquesas. Those

therefore who intended to establish themselves here, arranged their concerns accordingly for disembarkation. The following day they were landed, together with a considerable portion of their effects. They were received very courteously amidst a vast concourse of the natives : the king and queen seated on men's shoulders, together with the principal chiefs of the island, assisted in the ceremony of receiving and welcoming their new visitors.

An old man named Pyteah, the chief of the district in which we were to reside, exerted himself greatly in preparing the house for the reception of the Missionaries ; and the natives, generally, appeared much pleased with the idea, that men had come purposely from England to live among them : these favourable circumstances were highly gratifying to the Missionaries who were to settle here.

Manne Manne, the aged and high priest, had succeeded in making captain Wilson his *Tayo* : by the Swedes we were informed that he was a near relation of the royal family, and of considerable consequence in the islands ; being chief priest, not only over Otaheite, but also of Eimeo. Manne Manne was accordingly invited into the cabin, and treated with that respect, which his situation required.

Manne Manne came early the next morning with three fine hogs, some fowls, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, a quantity of cloth, &c., which were intended as a present for his tayo, the captain. He made a long oration, in which he described the ships and captains which had touched at Otaheite, with the names of the



gods of Ulitea : but he acknowledged the British God to be the best ; and that he would request Otoo to worship him, and to order the people to do the same.

Soon after, Peter the Swede brought various refreshments, among which was a remarkably large hog, the two sides of which, exclusive of the head and entrails, weighed three hundred and forty pounds ; it had on each side of its mouth two large tusks : for use, it was much too fat for us ; and, as many small pigs were brought in the course of the day, but little of it was eaten.

Manne Manne soon after took five of his wives on board the ship : scarcely any of them exceeded fifteen years, and desired that he might sleep in the cabin. According to the custom of the country, he very cordially desired captain W. his tayo, to take his choice, and could hardly persuade himself he was serious in declining the offer ; nor failed the next morning to inquire of them which he had chosen. This brought on a conversation on the nature of their customs ; the captain explained to the old priest, how little such a state of polygamy was suited to happiness ; that no woman could be either so attached, faithful, affectionate, or careful to promote domestic felicity, as where the heart was fixed on one object without a rival. The old priest did not at all relish this doctrine, and said, such was not the custom at Otaheite ; but the ladies highly approved, and said the Pretane (English) custom was my-ty my-ty, very good.

About eleven in the forenoon, the captain, and

several of the Missionaries went on shore, accompanied by the old priest and Peter the Swede. The natives had assembled on the beach in great numbers, and as the boat approached, some ran into the water, and laying hold of her, hauled her aground ; they took the captain and Missionaries on their backs, and carried them dry on shore. They were received by the young king Otoo, and his wife Tetua, both carried on men's shoulders ; each took the captain by the hand, and in dumb silence surveyed him attentively, looking in his face, and surveyed every part of his dress : and the queen opened Mr. Cover's shirt at the breast and sleeves, and seemed astonished at so clear a sight of the blue veins.

The captain informed the king that the inducement of the Missionaries for leaving England, to settle on his island was to do them good, by instructing them in the best and most useful things ; and required on his part the gift of a piece of land sufficiently stocked with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and so large as to contain a garden, and admit of houses being built upon it ; that this land should be their own ; that they would not, on any account, intermeddle in their wars, nor employ their arms but for self-defence ; and at all times should live free and unmolested among them : to which, if he consented, the Missionaries would stay on the island ; if not, they would go elsewhere. Otoo signified the large house was our own, and that we might take what land we pleased.

After this, Manne Manne stood up in the middle of the ring, and made a long speech, passing many enco-

miums on England; in which he mentioned also the various districts of the island, the chiefs, the gods, &c. After which he formally ceded the whole district of Matavai to the Missionaries, and honoured them by making them chiefs; by which they were possessed of power to command the natives of that district, and to order provisions, &c. to be brought them. When this ceremony was over, the king still holding the captain by the hand, led him to the house, thence to the beach, and so on till tired, when the captain requested to go on board. Having arrived at the boat, Otoo desired to hear the musquets fired, and to gratify him, the four they had were discharged twice; with which compliment he appeared highly pleased.

After dinner, Otoo and his wife came off, each in a small canoe, with only one man paddling: whilst they went several times round the ship, the queen was frequently bailing her canoe with a cocoa-nut shell. This may help to form an idea of what a queen is in Otaheite. They would not venture on board, because wheresoever they come is deemed sacred, none daring to enter there, except their proper domestics.

The king appears thoughtful, speaks little, but surveys things with attention; but I think it mostly arises from a sullen and stupid disposition, rather than capacity.

On the 10th, the captain landed, to present some showy dresses to the king and his wife: they met him on the beach as usual. Peter informed him of the captain's intention, and, shewing the box which contained the treasure, requested Otoo to walk towards

his house, a temporary shed they had erected for the purpose of being near our people. He complied, and when they came near, the captain, stopping under a tree, ordered the people to form a ring, and placing the box in the midst, Otoo was requested to alight, that he might be dressed; he replied, by and by, and gazed sullenly for a considerable time, till the captain's patience was nearly exhausted: frequently repeating the request, but receiving no answer, they opened the box, and on taking out the dress for the queen, she instantly alighted from the man's shoulder, and Otoo followed her example. The fancy cap fitted her exceedingly well, and she seemed very proud of it; but it was only by unripping that the other articles could be put on her or Otoo. The captain told him that the *carees* (chiefs) of Pretane thought he was not yet so stout a man. Dressed complete in this gaudy attire, the surrounding crowd gazed upon them with admiration. She, true to the foibles of her sex, appeared delighted; but Otoo thought little of them, saying, an axe, a musquet, a knife, or a pair of scissors were more valuable; which was saying more for himself than we expected, or that he had even sense to do.

In the dusk of the evening they all retired; and having been informed that the next day (Sunday) would be set apart for religious purposes, and that on that account no work would be done, nor any thing received from them: they had brought a vast quantity of provisions both to the ship and the house, and when they went away, asked if the following day

would be more devoted to prayer than other days, which question was answered in the affirmative ; and on Sunday all was quiet : not a canoe was seen near the ship.

After consulting upon the propriety of commencing their religious instructions, it was agreed that brother Cover should address them through the medium of Andrew the Swede as interpreter. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the Missionaries met for this purpose ; many of the natives being present, both within and without the house ; and as soon as Andrew interpreted the first sentence, finding the discourse directed to them, they placed themselves in attentive postures. When they understood a little of what was said, they put very pertinent questions. They asked whether the message of the British God was to the *toutous* (servants) as well as to the king and chiefs ? they were answered in the affirmative ; and further, Mr. Cover pointing to his brethren, told them that they were the messengers of the only true God ; and though all men had offended him, he was, notwithstanding, a merciful God ; conferring great blessings on those who believed his word, and that after death he took them to a state of eternal happiness. Otoo was present, but appeared of a very unteachable disposition.

On the following day Otoo and his queen sent to beg leave of the captain to send him their presents ; to which ceremonial an answer was sent in the affirmative ; and they were presently alongside : the king's consisted of thirteen live hogs, and three ready dressed ; the queen's was one dressed, six alive, and

a bale of cloth ; they followed in a large double canoe, accompanied by Otoo's younger brother, now prince of Tiaraboo. They expressed a wish for one of the great guns to be fired ; and, to gratify them, two were cast loose. Manne Manne took the match, and, though almost blind with age, he boldly fired them off ; with which act of his own courage he was highly transported.

In the afternoon, Pomarre and Iddeah, (Otoo's father and mother) paid their first visit to the ship : besides his usual attendants, a number of others had put themselves in his train. When alongside, he refused to come further till he saw the captain, upon whose appearance he ascended the side, and coming on the quarter-deck, wrapped four pieces of cloth round the captain, as his own present ; then taking that off, repeated the like operation in the name of Iddeah.

When this ceremony was over, he promised to send provisions, and whatever they had occasion for while they staid at Otaheite. He is very affable, and the picture of good nature, and supposed to be the largest man in the island. Soon after, they visited the Missionary settlement, and were no less gratified than surprised to view the improvements. They took tea with the Missionaries : one of his attendants poured the tea from the cup to the saucer, and then held it to his mouth : this is the custom at every meal, as his dignity will not let him feed himself. When he had finished, he requested the saucer might



be kept for his future use, and that no woman might be permitted to touch it.

On the 17th the young king and Pomarre paid a visit at the house, which afforded an occasion to speak to him concerning the education of his children; and represented it as a matter of the greatest importance, both to them and the people of Otaheite; and that he would be highly blamable to neglect so favourable an opportunity. The chief's mind seemed impressed with the truth of what was said, and he immediately spoke to Otoo, who returned a very unfavourable answer:—he did not want to learn English. Appearances are certainly against him; however, it may reasonably be hoped, that example, and the exhibition of arts which must appear wonderful in their eyes, may in time excite in his mind a thirst after knowledge.

19th. It being signified to the natives that an address would be delivered to them, great numbers accordingly assembled under cover of some shady trees near the house; and a long form being placed, Pomarre was requested to seat himself on it with the Missionaries; the rest of the natives standing or sitting in a circle around us. Mr. Cover then addressed them from the words of St. John, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." The Swede interpreting by sentences as he spoke. The Otaheiteans were silent and very attentive. After the discourse, Pomarre took Mr. C. by the hand, and expressed his approba-

tion. Being asked if he had understood what was said, he replied, there were no such things before in Otaheite ; and they were not to be learned at once, but that he would wait the coming of the *Eatooa* (God.) Desiring to know if he might be permitted to attend again, he was told, yes. He and his wife dined with us, and departed.

## CHAPTER II.



Departure of the Duff to the island Eimeo.—Description of Taloo Harbour.—Behaviour of the natives.—Return to Otaheite.

**O**N the 20th, the Duff was ready for sea, and as Peter the Swede had offered to accompany her in the voyage to the Friendly Islands and the Marquesas, the captain consented, thinking that he might be useful as an interpreter ; and permitted a young woman named Tanno Manno, with whom Peter had cohabited ; also a man, and a boy. As the captain intended to lay a few days at Eimeo, to give an opportunity to the Missionaries to observe the disposition of the Otaheiteans towards them during the absence of the ship ; and also to examine a vessel which was building there by the orders of Manne Manne, after the European construction.

On the 21st they weighed, and by ten o'clock they were off the north-east part of Eimeo, and kept running along the edge of the coral reefs towards Taloo harbour, and, at the distance of half a cable's length. The reef appeared to block up the harbour until they were nearly abreast of it, when a good entrance

shows itself. They run close up to the south-east corner of the harbour, and let go their anchor in ten fathoms water, and moored with the stream-cable to a remarkably large tree, which stands close to the water's edge; the steeple cliff at the head of the harbour, bearing S. by E.

Taloo harbour is on the north side of the island: the bottom so clear, that you distinctly see the coral, with its beautiful branches of various colours. The mouth of the harbour is about a quarter of a mile broad; the water of an amazing depth: this leads into a most delightful bay, about two miles wide, and three long. This bay is beautifully surrounded with trees: not the least agitation of the water is perceived on the beach, let the wind blow from what quarter it may, it is so perfectly land-locked. They lay under a mountain ten times as high as their top-gallant-mast, and perpendicular. There is a fine fresh-water river running up some miles, which a boat can ascend a mile or two, and where the ships water with the greatest ease. The captain considered it the securest harbour he ever saw. This island is supposed to be about ten miles in length, and five in breadth. It appears to have suffered great convulsions either from earthquakes or other violent causes. Most of the hills are high, pointed at their tops, with broken rugged sides, particularly about Taloo harbour; from the entrance of which, they present a very striking and magnificent appearance. It has a narrow border of low land next the sea, from whence the hills rise in sudden acclivities; but from the northern side they

rise gradually. The lower hills and the valleys are the most fertile parts; which, without care or culture, are covered with luxuriant bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and other trees: and there are many of a different kind in the mountains; some very much like *lignumvitæ*: one small island is wholly covered with this wood. Being in quest of a tree of hard wood, they found one, but the axe would not stand against it, so they were obliged to use the hand-saw: it is called the *toa* or iron-tree.

After dinner they examined Manne Manne's vessel, and on their return gave but an unfavourable account of her. She was forty-two feet long, but disproportioned in her breadth, by being fuller aft than forward, and the timbers were too small for her size.

Though they staid here but a few days, there occurred frequent instances of the thievish disposition of the people. One very dark night, about 11 o'clock, the watch saw a naked native standing in the main chains; and on attempting to seize him, he leaped into the water, and made his escape, taking with him four yards of their electric chain: and even in the day-time, though not one of them was suffered to come on deck, they found means to steal the rudder out of the jolly-boat lying alongside. At another time while they were at dinner in the cabin, a canoe came close under the stern, and a tall fellow getting upon the back of the rudder, reached his hand up, and snatched away a book which lay just within the cabin windows; he then immediately fell back, and plunged into the water. This they heard, and start-

ing up, insisted upon having the canoe brought alongside ; but this was refused, and all the natives began to set off towards the shore. Thinking this action too daring to be overlooked, and clemency so often extended, only excited greater depredations, a few small shot were fired, which made them take to the water, and skulk behind the canoe. Two of the seamen in the jolly-boat tried in vain to catch the offender ; for he, with the dexterity of a wild duck in the water, eluded all their attempts to lay hold of him : and it was only with the help of the pinnace, and frightening him with a musket, that he was caught at last. When alongside, he trembled through fear of being put to death, and struggled hard to get into the water again ; but making a rope fast round his body, he was hoisted on board, and lashed up to the rigging in sight of his countrymen, who stood ranged along the beach in expectation of seeing him punished. As Peter was on shore at this time, the delinquent was kept bound till he returned on board ; in the mean while, the natives observing that nothing was done to him, came around them as before. When Peter arrived, he was desired to tell the man in what light his offence was considered, and that if he or any other person was found to do the like again, he would certainly be severely punished ; and that the reason why he was suffered to escape, was merely because he had not been warned of the consequences before. To this he said, he would not do so again, and took his leave with joy in his countenance.



After having painted the ship, &c., on the morning of the 25th they left Taloo harbour, and towards evening saw Tethuroa, low land, about twenty-four miles from Otaheite. It consists of six or seven islets very near each other, not many feet above the level of the sea, covered with cocoa-nuts, but no bread-fruit, which they are not allowed to cultivate. It belongs to the king, but Manne Manne claims it. The natives, about three thousand, are principally employed in fishing for the chiefs at Otaheite, and bring back bread-fruit and other things in exchange.

About four in the afternoon of the next day, they arrived at Otaheite, where a variety of refreshments were provided.

A large house which was originally built for the accommodation of captain Cook, was now appropriated for our use. The building was sufficiently large for the present, but objectionable on account of its being open and much exposed to the weather, and to pilferers; some of whom are very expert. These objections were, however, soon removed upon application to the king and chiefs, who immediately ordered a number of the natives to procure rafters, which in two or three days were brought and expeditiously appropriated to palisade our dwelling. Its accommodation was now found very comfortable, and the situation pleasant. In front, is the beautiful Matavai Bay, commanding a view of the district Oparree, and the island Eimeo. In the rear is a delightful river, the water of which is valuable for any purpose. Its source is among the stupendous mountains; and the

whole country, from the highest summits of the mountains to the margin of the island, is clothed with evergreen fruit-trees of the greatest variety, and at all seasons productive of more than sufficient for the consumption of the numerous inhabitants.

## CHAPTER III.



Description of Otaheite.—Productions.—Manners and Customs.—  
Sacrifices.—Amusements.—Dresses.—Canoes.—Diseases, &c.

**O**TAHEITE lies in about  $18^{\circ}$  of S. latitude and  $150^{\circ}$  W. longitude, and consists of two peninsulas, joined by a neck of land about three miles broad, covered with trees and shrubs, but wholly uncultivated; though no part of the island seems more capable of improvement, and of admitting the plough, if cleared from wood. The larger, to the N. W., and which is called Otaheite Nooe, is about ninety miles in circumference, and nearly circular; the lesser, or Tiaraboo to the S. E., is about fifteen miles long, and ten broad. The whole length of the island is about forty geographical miles. It appears to consist of two mountains, (joined by the isthmus already noticed,) which are divided into a variety of districts, and are probably subject to changes made by the divisions and subdivisions of the chiefs among their towhas and relations. This island has a border of low land reaching from the beach to the rising of the hills, in

some places nearly a mile, in others hardly a furlong ; and in several points the mountains abruptly terminate in cliffs, against which the sea beats, forming difficult passages from one district to another. The soil of the low lands, and of the valleys which run up from the sea between the mountains, is remarkably fertile ; it consists of a rich blackish mould, covered with bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, plantain, evee apple, the yout, or cloth-plant, and many others. There grows a great variety of trees upon the mountains, which are, in most places, covered to the very tops with wood, in others with bamboos of great length, and in some by fern and reed, appearing at a distance like a fine green lawn. The hills rise very steep, and swell into mountains almost inaccessible ; but every where productive of plantains, yams, and a great variety of roots growing spontaneously, and sometimes used for food. In these higher regions only, is to be found the precious sandal-wood ; it is of two kinds, yellow and dark-coloured ; from whence the natives chiefly draw the perfume for the cocoa-nut oil, with which they anoint themselves. But the difficulty of procuring the wood is so great, owing to its situation on craggy and frightful precipices, that only small quantities are obtained, and these are considered the exclusive property of the chiefs, and held as an article of great value.

The country exhibits a mountainous aspect, and rises very high in the centre ; it is intersected by narrow valleys, into which numerous streams flow from the hills, forming, in some places, beautiful cas-

cedes. In the rainy seasons these streams swell into torrents, and sometimes loosen rocks and trees from the precipices, washing them down into the valleys, which they overflow, and occasion much damage. During the greater part of the year, these valleys afford a passage from one side of the island to the other, it being always difficult to ascend the mountains; but in the rainy season, this becomes impracticable, and the communication between one district and another is kept up by canoes. These pass within the reefs in smooth water with great ease; using this precaution only, that as the northernmost part of the island has a steep, rocky shore, and in blowing weather the landing is dangerous, those who wish to go to windward, proceed in their canoes westward, where they seldom find the trade-wind, and the sea breeze sets in from the westward. The high land obstructs the easterly wind, and the island Eimeo lying in a direction N. and S., forces a fresh westerly current up the south side of Otaheite, which wafts the canoes to the isthmus; where, hauling them across, they are sure of a fair wind home. This is at present done on rollers, and by ropes; but a carriage with wheels would wonderfully facilitate the operation; and probably, ere long, a practicable road will be formed for this purpose; as has been suggested by one of the Missionaries.

When the trade-wind gets far to the south, and blows fresh, it generally rains on the south side of the island, bringing the clouds from the mountains of Tiaraboo, and emptying their contents at Pappara and the ad-

joining districts. This occasions a great difference in the bread-fruit season, between the north and south sides of the island ; as on the north, the rain is less frequent and less violent, and the trade-wind constantly blows, except when the sun is vertical. Hence the bread-fruit harvest commences on the north side about November, and continues till the end of January ; whilst on the south side, in some parts it begins in January, and continues in different districts till November. But though this is the case with the general harvest, there are some kinds of bread-fruit, though scarce, in all seasons of the year, especially in the district of Attahooroo. The different species of the same tree amount to thirty. At our arrival in March, we found plenty ; and, indeed, real want of this fruit is seldom known.

On ascending the hills, the soil changes from a rich loam into various veins of red, white, dark, yellow, or bluish earth, clay, or marl. In the red, are found stones resembling cornelian or flint, but being full of veins : though they will strike fire with steel, they break on a second stroke. The white appears like pipe-clay, or fuller's earth : the dark, a fine rich mould, probably the decayed part of vegetable substances ; the yellow is mixed with gravel ; the blue, a marly substance. These are all found in digging ten or twelve feet ; and the under stratum appears a soft sand-stone of a brownish colour, intermixed with hard rock.

The hills also afford a blackish stone, which seems a lava, in pieces eight or ten feet long, and from four



to ten inches thick ; of which they formerly made their stone tools. It is of a fine grain, though not very hard, nor apt to splinter ; which answered best the purposes of the natives, as they could thus more easily bring them to an edge : but almost at every stroke, their adzes required whetting, and nearly two-thirds of their time was employed in this labour.

The beds of the rivers are formed of stones and gravel ; and many of them contain a glassy substance, that will melt in a strong fire ; others are more infusible, and many are found like pumice-stone. In powder, magnet attracts particles. The island appears to be of a volcanic origin.

In the district of Matavai there is a singular cliff, called Peeha, which is formed of an immense number of oblong pieces of stone, strongly cemented together, and hanging in a very romantic manner. The cliff is about eighty or ninety feet high, and twice as broad : at the bottom runs a river, the largest in the island.

In some parts, the mountains are barren and full of precipices, broken as by earthquakes. In the bosom of those which bound the district of Vyeorede, there is a remarkably large fresh-water lake, called Vye-heerea, which the natives say cannot be sounded by any line, and contains eels of a monstrous size. On the banks of this lake many inhabitants are seated, who have plenty of all sorts of provisions, except the bread-fruit, for which they substitute the mountain plantain. This lake empties itself in the valley of Vyeorede. Here also they make vast quantities of

a greyish cloth highly prized, beaten from the bark of the mountain sloe-tree ; and a number of areoies frequent the place for this purpose, as they prefer the cloth to any other, and call it oraa.

The bay of Matavai affords safe anchorage during eight months in the year, but is dangerous from December to March : the bottom is a blackish sand, from six to eighteen fathoms. The channel between the reef and the Dolphin Rock, on which the water is only thirteen feet in the shallowest part, extends not more than half a cable's length, but has twenty-two fathoms of water ; yet, in a weak-manned ship, this passage seems preferable to passing to the westward of the rock, as it frequently happens that the wind comes off in squalls from one tree hill in a southern direction, and often falls into a dead calm. Both of these disadvantages may be avoided by keeping the reef close aboard, with ten fathoms water, and bringing to where you please ; as there is no foul ground to windward of the Dolphin Bank, nor any rocks but what are visible. The sunken rocks, called Toa, the natives know, and are ready to point out. The only harbour to the westward, is that of Oparre, called Toa-roa, or Long Rock.

Water is convenient and abundant in all parts of the island ; and in many places where the sea has ebbed, the native fountains issue their treasures of the most delightful water, notwithstanding, they are generally covered with the ocean.

From the latitude of the island, it might be inferred that the scorching rays of a vertical sun would

make it an unhealthy, and by no means a desirable place for establishing a mission : but this is not the case. The island being clothed with shady trees, and the steady trade-breezes commencing with the rising sun, make it a very agreeable residence. The weather, from March till August, was serene and pleasant ; and, the thermometer, in general, not lower than  $65^{\circ}$ , seldom rising higher than  $75^{\circ}$  to  $80^{\circ}$  ; and so cool at night as to make a blanket welcome. From the month of December to March, the wind frequently blows hard from the west, with rain, and throws a heavy surf on the shore into Matavai bay : the rest of the year the wind blows from the east, but with alternate land and sea breezes around the island, which extends its influence about a league from the shore.

The government of Otaheite is monarchical, and hereditary in one family. Upon the birth of his first son, the king retires from his dignity, and the child is honoured as the sovereign ; this is exemplified in Pomarree, who, from king, became the first subject of his son Otoo, and regent of state : he supports his son's dignity with all his weight and influence.

The ceremony of investing the young king with the royal maro, like a coronation, is a solemnity which few can witness : the following account from a spectator will be interesting.—Assembling at the great morai in Oparree, the maro oora, or red sash of royalty, was laid on the morai : it is made of network, and thrummed with red and yellow feathers. The taata orero, the public orator, (probably Manne

Manne) opened the ceremony with a long speech, which set forth the rightful authority of the son of Pomarree to the regal dignity, and invested him with the royal cincture. Motuara, the chief of Eimeo, first paid his homage to the young king, who was borne on a man's shoulders, and surrounded by all his chieftains. He brought three human victims from Eimeo in his canoes; from each of which the priest, scooping out an eye, presented it to the sovereign on a plantain-leaf, plucked from a young tree, in his hand, accompanied with a long ceremonial discourse: the bodies were then taken away, and buried in the morai. The same ceremony was repeated by every chief in rotation, of the several districts of Otaheite; some bringing one, and some two human sacrifices, fixed on a long pole; and buried after the presentation of the eye.

The reason assigned for this horrid oblation was, that the head being sacred, and the eye the most precious part, it was to be presented to the king as the head and eye of the people. During the presentation, the king holds his mouth open, as if devouring it, whereby they imagine he receives additional wisdom and discernment; and that his tutelar deity presides, to accept the sacrifice, and, by the communication of the vital principle, to strengthen the soul of the royal pupil. Many hogs were strangled, and immense quantities of cloth presented. The royal maro, worn only on that day, was deposited in its place at the morai, and the sacred canoes, which brought the human sacrifices, were hauled up thither. The

king and chiefs then departed, to devour the hogs, turtle, fowls, fish, and vegetables prepared for them in the greatest profusion, and to drink their intoxicating yava. The feasting and heivas, or dances, lasted two months : the hogs killed on the occasion were innumerable, the yava abundant ; and more than one of the chiefs paid for their excesses, by the loss of their lives. Otoo, the present king, is about seventeen, and very large-limbed, promising to be of a size like his father. Though he is absolute, he lives in the greatest familiarity with the lowest of his subjects. He is differently represented : some say he looks solid, and of a thoughtful aspect ; whilst others call him stupid, and think his countenance looks vacant. His queen, Tetua, daughter of Wyreede, relict of Motuaro, is about his own age, and rather the larger of the two. Her countenance is pleasing and open, but masculine, and widened by the usual method of pressure, called touroome. It is considered as the distinctive mark of their regal dignity, to be every where carried about on men's shoulders. Their persons being esteemed sacred, all must uncover below the breast when in their presence : and from this mark of homage, their own father and mother are not exempted. They may not enter into any house but their own, because, from that moment it would become raa, or sacred, and none but themselves, or their train, could dwell or eat there ; and the land which their feet touch, becomes their property ; therefore, though they often came off to the ship, ate what was handed down to them, and bailed the water

out of their canoe, they would never come on board; and when they visited our missionary house, they never came further than the door. The king and the queen are always attended by a number of men, as carriers, domestics, or favourites, who are raa, or sacred; they live without families, and attend only on the royal pair. A worse set of men for thievery, plunder, and impurity, does not exist upon the whole island.

The mode of carrying the king and queen, is with their legs hanging down before, seated on the shoulders, and leaning on the head of their carriers, and very frequently amusing themselves with picking out the vermin, which there abound. It is the singular privilege of the queen, that, of all women, she alone may eat them; which privilege she never fails to make use of. On their own land they sometimes condescend to alight and walk; but seldom move far without their porters. Among these attendants is a native of a complexion quite different from his fellows; reddish, and of a Swedish cast of countenance, and his hair white and fine as flax. There are a few others somewhat similar, like the white negroes, an anomalous breed.

The next in rank to the king is his own father, Pomarree, who acts as regent for his son. He is represented as of very amiable manners, and peculiarly attached to the Missionaries. He is the largest man on the island, being above six feet four inches high, and strong built. The tallest person in the ship hardly reached his shoulders; and he would weigh



as much as three or four ; yet he is no warrior, and in military prowess is exceeded by his wife Iddeah, a woman of a most masculine appearance and disposition.

The next in dignity are the chiefs : some of them are supreme in more than one district, and exercise regal power in their own territories, yet still subject to Otoo as sovereign, and liable to be called upon for assistance : these, also, have houses and lands in many districts, which, as they cannot occupy themselves, they commit to the care of superintendants, called meduas, or give them to their tayos, who enjoy all the fruits without being called to any account, and share them with the chiefs, when they themselves come to reside.

The near relations and younger brothers of the chiefs, who are called towhas, with the tayos of the chiefs, follow in order of dignity ; and if there are more chiefs than one, the district is divided into different padtdoos, or parishes, and each of these has towhas under him. The next rank is the ratirra, or gentleman, who has one portion to the towha's three. These smaller estates are called rahoe, from the power which the ratirra has to lay a prohibition on his own land, or on any sort of provision, as well as the towha on his portion, and the chief on the whole ; but this power, though sometimes abused, is usually employed after a great consumption of provisions, or to accumulate them for some feast. The principal object of the rahoe are hogs, though sometimes it extends also to other sorts of provisions ; as when shell-

fish are scarce on the reefs, the ratirra can rahoe his portion ; which is done by sticking up at the extremities of it two branches of a tree, to which a white cloth is attached ; and no person dare fish there whilst these remain. When the rahoe is taken off, and the offering of a hog and fish is made, the place is again free ; and the feast is given by the person who put on the rahoe : this is called oroa ; and besides feasting the guests, it is expected that he should present them with large quantities of cloth ; some of this is thrown to the populace to scramble for, which makes sport, the cloth being torn into ribands ; and however small, they prefer it to a large piece, which they might have for asking. These narrow slips they wear as favours in honour of the feast. The young men wrestle, the women dance, and the feast is often prolonged several days.

When such a feast is made by a chief on taking off the rahoe from a whole district, it is called towroa ; then larger quantities of cloth, live hogs, bamboos of oil, and even canoes, are given to be scrambled for.

At these entertainments most of the chiefs of the island are present, vast numbers of the areoies, and all descriptions of people. The towroa resembles a country fair, to which every one who goes, brings home something to show where he has been, with this difference, that here it costs nothing ; and besides the sport of the herroo, they are feasted all the time. Great quantities of hogs are dressed on this occasion ; and a stranger would suppose every one on the island had been collected. The cloth and ca-

noes seldom fall to the share of the same person, but are mostly rent in pieces ; and he who gets the largest piece is the best man. If several of a family seize and carry off the canoe, it is their own ; and he who first catches the hog, carries it home.

The things appointed for this sport are all brought together in an open space. The chief's men hold the hogs till the priest has made a long prayer on the occasion : at the conclusion of which he throws a young plantain into one of the canoes, which stand in a row, with masts erected to spread the cloth, and hang the bamboos of oil ; immediately on this signal, the hogs, goats, and fowls, are let loose, and the young men and women begin the chase, which continues a considerable time before all are caught, affording many a laughable incident : after this, the presents are given, and the feast served up. Wrestling and dancing occupy a part of every day and night while the feast continues. They have other feasts, held at the ratirra's morai, called oboo noe, where they meet in smaller companies, baking a hog and eating it on the spot ; and if not cleared the first day, they come the second or the third, as none must be removed from the morai. The chief of the padtdoo, and the priests are always invited on these occasions ; and if absent, a portion is put by for them till they arrive, which they seldom fail to do. If the chief does not come, the priests are entitled to his portion. At this feast, no woman, nor any of her male attendants, can be present or partake of it. At all these they brew plenty of yava ; and they who can get it, drink it

greedily. When the hog is taken from the oven, the priest offers a long prayer, and on a plantain-leaf collects a small portion of all the provisions, with a bit of yava-root, placing them on the altar, as an oblation to the Eatooa. The hog is then divided into as many shares as persons ; each eats as much as he pleases, and puts the remainder into a basket, covered with leaves, till he returns to finish his portion. If a stranger passes by at the time, he is always invited to partake, provided he declares himself raa, or a clean person ; if not, he refuses, nor dare they tell a lie, for should the imposition be detected, death only could expiate the offence.

The women and their servants have their separate feasts also, called oehumoo. These are generally of fish, and not kept on sacred ground. Any man who is invited may partake with them. The lowest class in society, after the ratirra, is the manahoune : they cultivate the land, and most resemble our cottagers ; some are raa, or hallowed, and others common or unclean. These are under the towhas and ratirras, and answer all their demands to the best of their ability, make cloth for them, build their houses, or assist in any laborious work required of them ; yet their vassalage compels no constant service or residence : they may change chiefs, and go to another district.

The servants are called toutou ; and such as wait wholly on the women, tuti ; nor is it uncommon to find young men of the first families so debased ; though by such feminine service they become excluded from all religious solemnities.

There yet remains a set of men of the most execrable cast, called mahoos, affecting the manners, dress, gestures, and voice of females, and too horrid to be described.

In the scale of rank, birth enjoys singular distinction. A chief is always a chief; and though expelled from his command, losing his district, or having his honours transferred to his child, he continues noble and respected; on the other hand, no acquisition can raise a common man to a higher station than that of tow-ha, or ratirra: yet the meanest are in no slavish dependence. The honour and respect they pay their chief, is rather through custom than the fear of punishment. They are admitted to his society on all occasions, and treated with perfect freedom; indeed, in outward appearance they can hardly be distinguished. The king is not averse to join in conversation with the lowest of his subjects, or to be their visitor; and never treats them with disdain. His retinue is often changing: no man serves him longer than he pleases. They have no wages, nor engage for any stated time, though some remain in the family all their lives; and these ancient domestics are as much respected as their own relations, giving directions to the younger branches, and managing, as stewards, the affairs of the household without control.

They are friendly and generous, even to a fault; they hardly refuse any thing to each other, if importuned. Their presents are liberal and profuse. Poverty never makes a man contemptible; but to be affluent and covetous, is the greatest shame and re-

proach. Should any man betray symptoms of incorrigible avariciousness, and refuse to part with what he has in time of necessity, he would be in danger of soon being placed on a footing with the poorest. They will give their clothes from their back, rather than be called peere peere, or stingy.

Respecting property, they have no writings or records, but memory and landmarks. Every man knows his own; and he would be thought of all characters the basest, who should attempt to infringe on his neighbour, or claim a foot of land that did not belong to him, or his adopted friend; for the tayo may use it during his friend's lifetime, and if he has no child, possess it at his death.

If a man bequeaths his property on his death-bed, no person disputes the bequest, as there are always many witnesses to the gift, if the heir is not present. The landmarks set by their ancestors, the father points out to his son, or heir; and should a dispute arise, through decay, or removal, multitudes know where they stood, and the matter is, in general, easily settled. Indeed, it is much the same in all litigations; the case is referred to a bystander, and the party which he declares in the wrong submits, and makes the other a peace-offering of the plantain stalk. Men seldom fight in consequence of personal quarrel. If any matter of serious offence is given, the whole family or district take it up, and go to war with their opponents; but if they choose not to fight, a peace-offering is never refused; if they will fight, the weakest must suffer; and as all the relations adopt the



quarrel, there is sometimes much bloodshed, and it frequently leads to a general war. Such broils, indeed, are sometimes produced by what appears very trifling; such as scurrilous words spoken against the heir of a large, or small estate; neglect of proper respect to a child, and other things as trivial; for instance, as the child from the moment of its birth becomes the head of the family, the boundaries of his land are new marked with rude images; and if this new-born infant be a towha, or ratirra, a number of little flags are set up in different parts of the boundary; to these all persons of inferior rank must uncover themselves as they pass, whether by day, or by night; and should this mark of homage be contemptuously neglected, the mother flies to the shark's teeth, and cuts herself, and the party must make a peace-offering with the plantain. Should this be refused, the father and mother would tear off the clothes from his back, and well drub him into the bargain. The friends and relations sometimes arm themselves, and fatal consequences follow. Even a chief has been known to be driven from his district, on account of a dispute originating about a poor man's child supposed to be affronted by one of the same rank as himself.

The famous, or rather infamous arreoy society, consisting of noble persons in general, have also different ranks among themselves, like our freemasons, known by the manner of their tattooing. The highest are called ava' bly areema tatowe; the next, areema bly; the third, ahowhoa; the fourth, harrotea; the fifth, e'ote ole; the sixth and seventh, po,

and mo, youths training up. It is the practice of this society to destroy both sexes of their offspring immediately after they are born. A circumstance of this diabolical nature occurred with Ideah, the king's mother, who was admitted a member of that society; and so tenacious are they of attending to every part of the laws of the institution, that the Missionaries, by entreaty, and the offer of large rewards, and pointing out the iniquity of their proceedings, could not succeed in preserving the infant.

The natural colour of the inhabitants is olive, inclining to copper. The fishermen, who are most exposed to the sun and sea, are very dark; but the women, who carefully clothe themselves, are but a shade or two darker than a European brunett. They have fine black eyes, white and even teeth, soft and delicate skins, and well-formed limbs; their hair is of a jetty black, perfumed, and ornamented with flowers; but their features are not beautiful, as, by continual pressure from infancy, which they call tou-roome, they widen the face with their hands, distend their mouth, and flatten the nose and forehead, which gives them a masculine look; and they are in general large, and wide over the shoulders; and though some young persons may be esteemed comely, there are but few who can be called beauties; yet they possess eminent feminine graces: their faces are seldom darkened with a scowl, or covered with a cloud of sullenness, or suspicion, and they seem entire strangers to those unaccountable caprices, sudden

frowns, and violences of temper, which produce much misery to civilized society.

Their manners are affable and engaging; their gait graceful; their behaviour free and unguarded; always boundless in generosity to each other, and to strangers; in comparison of which no people in the world, perhaps, exceed them. Nothing, either in the Missionary excursions, or at their residence, which they wanted, and the island afforded, was withheld; but poured in with the greatest profusion. It is true, that they are heathens and idolaters: but where, in civilized *christian countries*, is such gratuitous conduct known? They do not say, "depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled," and permit the poor mendicant to remain in his abject situation: no, but their actions accompany their profession, and frequently the act precedes the profession. Their tempers are mild, gentle, and unaffected; slow to take offence, easily pacified, and seldom retaining resentment, or revenge, whatever provocation they may have received.

The men in general are above our common size; but the chiefs are mostly a larger race, few of them less than six feet high; and Pomarre is four or five inches higher, and proportionably bulky. They carry their age well; and are healthy and vigorous at a very advanced time of life if not infected with disease; such are Otey, the grandfather of Otoo, and Manue Manne, the high priest, and others. Their exact age can only be collected from circumstances, as

they keep no regular account of time ; yet from events which they relate, a tolerably accurate calculation may be formed. Many were alive in 1791 who remembered the loss of one of Roggervein's squadron, at an island north of Otaheite, in 1722.

The dress of both sexes is nearly the same, excepting that the men wear a narrow piece of cloth, which, passing round the waist, goes between the thighs, and is tucked in before, named the marro, and may be called their breeches. An oblong piece, like a piece of printed calico, not a yard wide, with a hole in the middle to admit the head, hangs down before and behind, with the sides open, falling loose as low as the knees, and leaving the arms quite uncovered ; this is called the teboota. A square piece of cloth doubled, of any size sufficient to pass once and a half round the waist of the men, and above the breasts of the women, under the teboota, is called paru ; this falls down only to the knees of the men, but to the midleg, and often to the ankles, of the women ; and is sometimes tucked in at the corner, or confined by a girdle of cloth, plaited hair, or fine matting, called tatdooa. The women, besides, often wear a piece of cloth, ah-hoo, square, or oblong, folded, which they tastefully throw over all, as a cloak ; this is generally of white cloth, and very fine. The other garments are of such colours as they most fancy. Instead of the marro, worn by the men, the women have a smaller paru, beneath the larger, as an under petticoat.

When travelling, they usually tuck up the paru,

to prevent its being soiled. If persons of rank appear with more than the ordinary cloth around them, it is designed for a present; and they generally honour the person for whom it is intended with winding it round him with their own hands.

The women uncover their shoulders and breasts in the presence of a chief, or on passing the sacred ground. Their bonnets resemble the green shades which our ladies use in summer; and are made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut; they are often changed, as they must cast them away on passing the morai. The women have no morai, nor appropriate place of worship; nor are they admitted to their solemnities; yet they expect to be admitted to happiness with the Eatooa, as well as the men.

In the tattooing of both sexes there is a small spot on the inside of each arm, just above the elbow, for a mark of distinction, to show that such a person may eat or touch his father's or mother's food, without rendering it raa, or sacred; it is a sort of seal, that all the amoas have been performed. This is generally made when the head becomes free, which is the last amoa, except that of friendship and marriage.

The man who performs the tattooing is called at the pleasure of the parties, and no constraint is ever used. The young persons will not suffer him to leave off while they can endure the stroke of the instrument, though they make cries and lamentations as if he was killing them. When the pain becomes excessive, and they say they cannot endure it any longer, no compulsion is used. No person ever lifts his hand to

strike a child; on the contrary, the young girls under the operation will often strike those who, from compassion, wish them to suspend the operation, as they are never esteemed women till the whole is finished: this sometimes lasts for a year or more, by intervals, from the commencement of the tattooing.

In childbirth the women submit to little or no confinement within doors, but rise and go about as usual. The infant presently crawls, and soon begins to walk, and almost as soon to swim. They run about entirely naked, and are remarkably healthy and active.

The ingenuity of all their works is wonderful, considering the tools they possess. Their cloth, clubs, fishing implements, canoes and houses, all display great skill: their mourning dresses, their war head-dress and breastplates, show remarkable taste; their adjustment of the different parts, the exact symmetry, the nicety of the joining, are admirable; and it is astonishing how they can with such ease and quickness drill holes in pearl shell with a shark's tooth, and so fine as not to admit the point of a common pin.

Their year consists of thirteen months. They calculate by the changes of the moon, and by the sun passing and repassing over their heads. They pretend to foretell when the rains will set in, and whether they will be more or less violent than common, and prepare accordingly. They know the seasons for particular fish; when the bread-fruit will come in season; and whether the harvest will be plentiful or scanty, late or early. They divide the day and



night into twelve equal parts, and they can nearly guess what the hour is by the sun and stars.

They compute distances by the time it takes to pass from one place to another. They measure their fishing lines by the fathom, or span, and sound depths of water as accurately as ourselves.

Their dwellings are about eighteen feet in the ridge-tree, oblong, and rounded at the ends. They are furnished with a few wooden trays and stools for making their puddings, posts to hang their baskets of different sorts, to store their provisions, a large chest on which the master and mistress of the house often sleep, or on the floor spread with matting and cloth, and covered with the same; frequently they employ a canoe-house, just sufficient for their length, and too low for them to stand erect, and sometimes a bedstead. Many in fine weather sleep in the open air. Their pillow is a little wooden stool, neatly wrought out of one block; and they who have no such, take the stool they sit upon in their canoes. They usually sit upon the ground cross-legged, but they have seats with which they are always ready to compliment a stranger. The unmarried women sleep next their parents, and occupy one end of the house; the unmarried men the other. The servants usually sleep in the women's eating-house, or near it.

Their houses are full of fleas, which are very troublesome; these, they say, were brought to them by the Europeans. The Missionaries were greatly tormented by these disturbers of repose, when they slept in European sheets; and the only preventive against

their attacks was in using the native cloth. This, among other causes, has made the call for bedateads great, as they find the comfort of this mode of sleeping. Their bedclothes are the garments they wear, if they have no other, which is frequently the case with the common people and servants, who, in that warm climate, trouble themselves but little about clothes, or the care of them.

The deities of Otaheite are nearly as numerous as the persons of the inhabitants. Every family has its *tee*, or guardian spirit, which is set up and worshipped at the morai: but they have a great god, or gods of a superior order, denominated FUMANOW Po, born of night. The general name for deity is EATOOA.

Three are held supreme; standing in a height of celestial dignity that no others can approach unto.

To these, the greater gods, they only address their prayers in times of extreme distress, and seasons of peculiar exigency, supposing them too exalted to be troubled with matters of less moment than sickness, storms, devastations, war, or any great calamity. Indeed, fear and suffering seem to be stronger motives to worship, than gratitude. The house of these gods is at Oparre, where the chief earie rahie, or king, resides.

For general worship they have an inferior race, a kind of household gods; one for each family, who is supposed to be one of their departed relatives, that, for his superior excellencies, has been exalted to an Eatooa. They believe this spirit can inflict sickness, or remove it, and preserve them from a malignant

deity who also bears the name of tee, and is always employed in mischief.

The writer's attention was once attracted in the valley of Matavai by a confused and lamentable cry, apparently proceeding from a person in distress: curiosity led him to the spot; where he beheld a native deeply engaged in worship, kneeling before one of their rudely carved images, and in an elevated voice invoking the divinity. The following dialogue ensued; the first question which arose in the writer's mind was to inquire what he (the native) was doing there, and why he made so much noise? to which he replied, that he was praying to his god. Q. For what do you pray to your god? A. Because my child is sick, and near the point of death. Q. Where is your god? A. There he is, (pointing to the image.) Q. Is not that a piece of wood which you have formed in that manner out of one of the bread-fruit trees, that can neither hear, see, speak, think, or act? therefore can render no service towards relieving the malady of your child. A. That is only a piece of wood, but it is what the supreme spirit condescends to come into when we pray. Q. Where is the residence of the supreme spirit, when you do not pray? A. Upon the tops of the high mountains. The writer embraced this opportunity of conversing with him (as well as his knowledge of the language would permit) of the character of the eternal God—his omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence, &c. The native was very attentive, and evinced considerable surprise.

They have a tradition, that once in their anger the

great gods broke the world into pieces; and that all the islands around them are but little parts of what was once *renooa noe*, the great land, of which their own island is the principal part.

Respecting a future state, they believe in the immortality of the soul, and admitting no punishment after death, but degrees of eminence and felicity, as men have been here most pleasing to the deity. They regard the spirits of their ancestors, male and female, as exalted into *eatooas*, and their favour to be secured by prayers and offerings. Every sickness and accident they esteem as a judgment for some offence; and therefore, if they have injured any person, they send their peace-offering, to make amends for the injury: and if sick, send for the priest to offer up prayers and sacrifices to pacify the offended *eatooa*; giving any thing the priests ask, being very fearful of death. But if they find their case desperate, they take leave of their friends, and commend them to the guardian spirits, exhorting them to be more careful of offending than they themselves had been. When the spirit departs from the body, they have a notion that it is swallowed by the *eatooa* bird, who frequents their burying-places and *morais*; and passes through him in order to be purified, and united to the deity. And such are afterwards employed by him to attend other human beings to inflict punishment, or remove sickness, as shall be judged requisite.

The evil demon named Tee has no power but upon earth; and this he exercises by getting into them with their food, and causing madness, or other diseases;

but these they imagine their tutelar saints, if propitious, can prevent, or remove.

They believe the stars are the children of the sun and moon, attributing every substance to procreative power; and pretend to foretell, from their eclipses, the future events of war, sickness, or the like.

They imagine when a star shoots, (as we call it,) it is the Eatooa; that in the moon there is a vast country containing trees and fruits; that a bird of Otaheite once flew up thither, and ate of the fruit; and on his return, dropped some of the seeds, from which a great tree sprang, of which only the bird still eats.

With regard to their worship, an Otaheitan, in no instance, approaches the Eatooa with carelessness and inattention; he is all devotion; he goes to the place of worship with reverential awe; uncovers himself when he treads on sacred ground and prays with a fervour that would do honour to a better profession. He firmly credits the tradition of his ancestors. None dares dispute the existence of the deity. They put great confidence in dreams, and suppose in sleep the soul leaves the body under the care of the guardian angel, and moves at large through the regions of spirits. Thus they say, my soul was such a night in such a place, and saw such a spirit. When a person dies, they say his soul is fled away, harre po, gone to night. It is singular that Pomarre declared to the Missionaries, that he had, before their arrival, been dreaming about the speaking-book, which they should bring from the Eatooa.

They entertain a high idea of the power of spirits.

In the beautiful and romantic view of Taloo harbour, the remarkable peaked mountain is said to be but a part of the original one. Some spirits from Ulitea had broken off the other half, and were transporting it down the bay, in order to carry it away with them, but, being overtaken by the break of day, they were obliged to drop it near the mouth of the harbour, where it now stands conspicuous as a rock; for, like the elves and fairies of our ancestors, these spirits walk and work by night.

Their sacrifices and oblations are various and liberal. They offer to their gods a part of every thing that is produced upon the island—hogs, dogs, fowls, and vegetables; and at every feast a portion is presented to the Eatooa before they presume to take their own repast. When the priest denounces the necessity of a human sacrifice, or, as on the inauguration of the king, custom requires such offerings, the victim is fixed upon by a council of the chief with the ratirras. He is usually a notorious character, who has been guilty of blasphemy, or some enormous crime, or a stranger who has fled to the district for shelter from some other part on account of ill conduct. The decision of this council is kept a profound secret, and perhaps the only one which is so.

An opportunity is taken in the night, when the victim is asleep, and they despatch him, if possible, with one blow of a stone on the nape of the neck, to prevent any disfigurement of the body; a bone of him must not be broken, nor the corpse mangled nor mutilated. If a man has been bitten or disfigured by a woman,



he becomes noa, unclean for ever, and can never be offered in sacrifice. The victim is placed in a basket of cocoa-nut leaves fastened to a long pole, and carried in a sacred canoe to the morai, when the eye is offered to the king with the ceremonies before described.

If the chief and ratirras, on the requisition of the priests, declare they can find none deserving death in their district, or refuse to provide a human sacrifice, a hog may be substituted in his place: and it is considered as taking off something from the horror of the deed, that none are pitched upon whose lives have not been justly forfeited by their crimes.

The sacred ground round the morai affords a sanctuary for criminals. Thither, on any apprehension of danger, they flee, especially when numerous sacrifices are expected, and cannot be taken from thence by force, though they are sometimes seduced to quit their asylum. On the inauguration of Otoo many took refuge in the precincts of the mutineers' habitation, which was held sacred as the morai, and where they enjoyed full protection. The Missionaries' habitations will afford as assured an exemption; and the whole district of Matavai being ceded to them, no more human sacrifices will probably be demanded from that district: and such an example will have the most beneficial tendency to abolish the custom in other places. If they should be able only to put an end to a practice so inhuman, and to induce the females to preserve and commit to their nurture the in-

phants devoted to destruction, they will feel themselves amply rewarded for their dangers and toils.

As soon as a child is born, a kind of hut is raised within the house with matting and cloth; heated stones are then placed, with sweet herbs and grass spread over them; on these water is sprinkled, and the woman shut up in the steam which rises, till she is in such a perspiration, that she can endure the heat no longer; from this vapour-bath she comes out and plunges into the river, and washing herself all over puts on her clothes, and takes the child to the morai. This she repeats, and often brings on the ague; nor can they be persuaded to desist from so absurd a custom, such being the force of prejudice.

If the child touches any thing before it is taken to the morai, and sundry offerings (called amooa) are made, it must be wholly appropriated to their use, being raa, or sacred; and if any thing touches the child's head before the amooa is offered, it must be deposited in a consecrated place enclosed for that purpose; and if, in carrying it about, the head touches the branch of a tree, the tree must be cut down; and if in its fall it injures another, so as to penetrate the bark, that tree must be cut down as unclean and unfit for use.

The head is always regarded as sacred; after the ceremonies are performed, these demands cease, but they never carry any thing upon their heads, nor can they be touched without offence; and the cuttings of their hair are buried at the morai.

Both sexes go naked till they are six or seven

years of age; about thirteen or fourteen the operations of tattooing the males begin, and earlier for the females. The instruments employed for tattooing a chief, or head of a family, are always sent to the morai, and destroyed as soon as the work is completed. A person without the honourable marks made by tattooing, would be as much despised and shunned, as if with us he should go about the streets naked.

They bathe three times a day in fresh water, and always wash themselves in it after coming out of the sea; and though men and women are together, there is not the least immodesty permitted; they slip through their clothes without any indecent exposures—it would be condemned in a man as much as in a woman. In their dances alone, is immodesty allowed; there it appears the effect of habit or custom, as no person could ever be prevailed upon to do in any private company what, when they dance in public, is allowed without scruple. In fact, though chastity and modesty are not held in the same estimation as with us, yet many of their married women are said to pique themselves on its strict observance, and are not to be won at any rate, being only accessible to the husband's tayo. They never uncover their breasts but when they bathe, nor their bosoms and shoulders but in the presence of the chief.

They pay great attention to cleanliness, and the decorations of their persons, by extracting every hair from their nose, arm-pits, &c. to prevent its harbouring any dust. Their beards are neatly trimmed with shells, and their hair cut according to fancy. The

women, except those who affect to be prophetesses, wear their hair short and decked with flowers, and pay great attention to their persons. They adjust their brows and eyelashes, clipping them if too long, and forming the eyebrows into regular arches. The men are as attentive to their persons, and will sit at the glass dressing with the greatest complaisance. A black cocoa-nut shell filled with water served them for a looking-glass, till they were supplied with what they so highly prized. Looking-glasses are an article of great value with them; for one of the commonest kind, from three to four inches square, a fine hog of about three hundred weight could be purchased; scissors also being a necessary appendage, were esteemed of equal value. Fish scales, or shells, formed their tweezers, the shark's teeth their scissors, and the bamboo their combs. Fragrant oil supplies the place of pomatum, and powder and civef can hardly furnish greater beaux. At their heivas (or dances) they put on their best, and dress in the most tawdry manner that fancy can suggest. Both sexes have their ears bored for ornaments; in which they wear pearls or beads, hanging down about two inches in a plait of hair; sometimes the hole of the ear is stuck with an odoriferous flower. They have pearls which they value very highly; and at first, our white beads, which resemble them, were much coveted; but when they found they were spoiled with water, they ceased to be regarded. As long as they are able to move, they bathe; the old, who can scarcely crawl, get down to the river; nor does any sickness or dis-

ease prevent them; nothing but total inability keeps them from the water.

They are uniformly excellent swimmers and divers; it was affirmed that one of the natives swam from Otaheite to Eimeo; (15 miles;) he was in consequence esteemed and worshipped as a god; for they declared that as the channel was infested with numerous sharks, and the distance so great, none but a god could pass safely.

They produce fire by the friction of wood, and with a quick motion rub a groove in the board placed at their feet till the dust produced takes fire; they have dried leaves or grass ready, into which they sweep this tinder dust, and wrapping it up, wave it in the wind till it is kindled into a flame.

They never suffer a fly to touch their food if they can help it; and should they find one dead in their puddings, or any of their provisions, they throw it to the hogs. They all carry fly-flaps, which are usually made of feathers, and fixed to a handle of wood ten or twelve inches long, sometimes carved, sometimes plain. The wing-bones of the largest fowls, when cleaned, are used for handles; and if they have not these, they take a bough from the nearest tree. When you enter a house, or a place where provisions are cooking, this is the first thing they offer you. When the provisions are hot before you, the boys continue to fan away the flies, nothing being more offensive than for a fly to get into their mouths; and their aversion to touch them with their hands is such, that should a dead fly be found on any part of their body, they

would go instantly to the river to wash themselves. The flies are very numerous, and of two sorts; the common black fly, and a gray one of the same size, which sometimes stings sharply. They have also butterflies, moths, moschettoes, lizards, scorpions, centipedes, beetles, crickets, grasshoppers, small ants, sand-flies, and others; none of which are dangerous, nor very troublesome.

If strangers lodge with them, they burn the candle-nut stuck on skewers, that they may see to find their way in and out of the house without inconvenience, as there are sometimes not less than fifty or sixty persons sleeping on the floor. It is not unusual for them to get up and have provisions ready in the night; and some sit and chat, and tell stories, with which they are always delighted: and accounts of their own and neighbouring islands, please them much better than those which relate to Europe; indeed, the extravagant tales they have heard are sufficient to make them incredulous; for one told them that the English had vessels which would reach from Otaheite to Uli-tea, about forty leagues; and of such a height, that a young man going to the topmast-head grew gray before he came down again; that their round tops contained forests of fruit-trees bigger than the bread-fruit. Pomarre earnestly pressed Capt. Wilson to say if it was true; but though undeceived in this respect, they are as much staggered at hearing of a house of stone of ten stories, or a bridge over a river of the same materials, as wide as would span the narrow part of their valleys from mountain to mountain. But what-



ever was related of their adjacent islands, their inhabitants, country, manners, trees, canoes, &c. was heard with the greatest avidity, and always drew an audience about the relater, beyond even their national favourite stories.

Here, as elsewhere, there are some who make a trade of beauty, and know too how to make their advantage of it, having persons who agree for, and receive the price of prostitution; but if a person is the tayo of the husband, he must not indulge in any liberties with the daughters or sisters, because they are considered as his own sisters or daughters, and incest is held in abhorrence by them; nor will any temptation engage them to violate this bond of purity. The wife, however, is excepted, and considered as a common property for the tayo. The women of quality allow themselves greater liberties than their inferiors; and many of the arroy women pride themselves on the number of their admirers, and live in a fearful promiscuous intercourse. Many are true and tender wives; their large families prove their sacred attachment to the individual with whom they are united; and our European sailors who have married among them have declared, that more faithful and affectionate creatures to them and their children could nowhere be found. The history of Peggy Stewart shows a tenderness of heart that will never be heard without emotion: she was daughter of a chief, and taken for his wife by Mr. Stewart, one of the unhappy mutineers of his majesty's ship *Bounty*. They had lived with the old chief in the most tender state of

endearment; a beautiful little girl had been the fruit of their union, and was at the breast when the Pandora arrived, seized the criminals, and secured them in irons on board the ship. Frantic with grief, the unhappy Peggy (for so he had named her) flew with her infant in a canoe to the arms of her husband. The interview was so affecting, that the officers on board were overwhelmed with anguish, and Stewart himself, unable to bear the heart-rending scene, begged she might not be again admitted on board. She was separated from him by violence, and conveyed on shore in a state of despair and grief too great for utterance. Forbidden to come any more on board, she sunk into the deepest dejection; it preyed on her vitals; she lost all relish for food and life; pined under a rapid decay of two months, and fell a victim to her feelings, dying literally of a broken heart.

They are very fond of dogs, and especially those with a bushy tail, the hair of which they employ in their fine breast-plates; and the women not only fondle the puppies, but suckle them at their breasts.

The women are not permitted to eat with the men, nor to drink out of the same cup. Many kinds of food are utterly forbidden them; and those which they may use, are gathered and dressed by themselves, or by those feminine male associates who wait upon them, and live with them. If a man touch their peculiar food, they are obliged to throw it away. No representation of a woman is permitted at any of their morais.

They do not accustom themselves to regular meals;

but usually eat as soon as they rise at daybreak. Some are very voracious, especially the chiefs. Pomarre has eaten a couple of fowls, and two pounds, at least, of pork, besides other things, at a meal, on board the Duff. The chiefs all live luxuriously: they only work for amusement; drink the yava daily; when they sleep are fanned and chafed by their women; and often sit up great part of the night at their heivas and entertainments.

They express their joy and their sorrow in the same way; for whether a relation dies, or a dear friend returns from a journey, the shark's tooth instrument is employed, inflicting wounds, till the blood streams copiously down. The Missionaries signified their disapprobation of these self-inflicted cruelties; they prevailed with the natives to suspend for them, at least, such expressions of pleasure; and taught them to shake hands, or welcome them with smiles instead of streams of blood.

Their mode of salutation is very different from ours: they touch noses, and wonder that we can express affection by wetting one another's faces with our lips.

In war they practise no discipline, and are under no obligation to fight longer than they like; and it is much less disgraceful to run away from an enemy with whole bones, than to fight and be wounded; for this, they say, would prove a man rather foolish than warlike. Except a man has killed an enemy, he is not esteemed a warrior; and though they dread a scar as dishonourable, they fight with a fury bordering on mad-

ness, as they know the loss of a battle would be the loss of all their property; which, though of inconsiderable value, they are reluctant to be deprived of, not so much from any covetous desire of possessing, as from their priding themselves on their generosity, and having something to give; and as they do it with a grace that adds much to the favour.

When a friend or a stranger visits a family, he is received with the most cordial welcome. The occasion of his visit and his wishes are demanded by the master of the family, and answered with the greatest frankness. Preparation is then made of a pig, or fowl, to entertain the stranger; and if it is more than can be eaten, it is put into a basket, and sent with him home; whatever he requests is given, if in the power of the host; and if not, he sends round to his friends and neighbours to procure it; this also is accompanied with a present of cloth and perfumed oil, or something which has cost them labour, as they say provisions come spontaneously, and are to be made little store of; but what is manufactured, or obtained with toil, is best suited to be given or received as presents. If any person sneezes, they use the salutation *youra-na t' Eatooa*, God bless you.

They never return thanks, nor seem to have a word in their language expressive of that idea. Should they not meet with a cordial welcome, they would say so without scruple to the next person they visited, which would be highly disgraceful to the offender, as their established law of hospitality is to entertain all strangers; and many make the tour of the island for

months together, sure to find everywhere a cordial reception.

From one cause or another, they frequently change their names; so that a person absent from them a few years, would be at a loss to find out those with whom he was best acquainted, unless he met them. The names of places and things are continued, unless they happen to consist of syllables containing the king's name, in which case, during his lifetime, they are changed, but at his death the common name is resumed.

They have an aversion to compare the size of any food to a person's head, and regard this as a species of blasphemy and insult. A hand laid on the head would be a high offence. One of those seamen who resided on the island, in outrage of their customs, would carry provisions on his head, and was regarded with horror as a cannibal: they have even different names for the head of a hog, a dog, a bird, a fish.

They have various sports and amusements; of these swimming in the surf appears to afford them singular delight. At this sport they are very dexterous; and the diversion is reckoned great in proportion as the surf runs highest and breaks with the most violence: they will continue it for hours together, till they are tired. Some use a small board, about two feet and a half long, formed with a sharp point, like the fore part of a canoe; but others depend wholly on their own dexterity. They swim out beyond the swell of the surf, which they follow as it rises, throwing themselves on the top of the wave, and steering with one leg,

whilst the other is raised out of the water, their breast reposing on the plank, and moving themselves forward with one hand, they are carried with amazing velocity, till the surf is ready to break on the shore, when, in a moment, they steer themselves with so quick a motion as to dart head foremost through the wave, and, rising on the outside, swim back again to the place where the surf begins to swell, diving all the way through the waves, which are running furiously on the shore.

In the course of this amusement they sometimes strike against each other, when many are swimming together; those who are coming on not being able to stop their motion, and those who are moving the contrary way, unable to keep at a sufficient distance, so that they are carried together by the rushing wave, and hurled neck and heels on shore before they can disembararrass themselves, and get much bruised on their landing. The women are very dexterous at this sport; and Iddeah, the queen-mother, is considered the most expert in the whole island. The children take the same diversion in a weaker surf, learning to swim as soon as they can walk, and seldom meet with any accident except being dashed on the beach; but hardly ever is a person drowned. If a shark comes in among them, they surround him, and force him on shore, if they get him into the surf, though they use no instruments for the purpose; and should he escape, they continue their sport without fear.

On shore they throw the spear, or javelin, shoot with bows and arrows, wrestle, dance, and amuse



themselves with several other games; at all which the women play as well as the men; but always separate.

The javelins are from eight to fourteen feet long, and pointed with the fwharra, or palm-tree, and sometimes with fish bones. They frequently exercise in throwing the spear. At this game, one district often plays against another, but never for any wager, only the district in which they play provides an entertainment.

Their bows are neatly made, and their arrows of small bamboos, pointed with toa wood, which they fix on with bread-fruit gum. With these they shoot against each other, not at a mark, but for the greatest distance. They never use this instrument in war; and the clothes they wear on this occasion are sacred to the game, and never worn at any other time.

In wrestling, after forming the circle, they begin with an act of defiance, or challenge, which is made by striking the arm above the elbow with the hand, which makes a loud report, and sometimes so frequent and violent, that the arm is made quite black. One steps forward to the centre and another advances to meet him; sometimes they stand gazing at each other till one suddenly plumps the top of his head into the face of his opponent, and causes him to retire much affronted, to the great amusement of the bystanders: at other times, they close together, and he who throws his antagonist is considered victor, and goes clapping round the ring, while the vanquished retires, but is not considered to have incurred any disgrace. If

one district wrestles against another, the women always wrestle first, and the men follow.

They sling both for amusement and in battle, with great force and tolerable exactness. Their slings are made of the plaited fibres of the cocoa-nut husk; they have a broad part for the stone: at one end is a loop for the hand to keep the sling fast when they discharge the stone. In charging the sling they hold it round their shoulders, keeping the stone fast in it with their left thumb, and jumping, swing the sling three times round their head, holding the left hand grasped on the wrist of the right, and thus discharge the stone with a force sufficient to enter the bark of a tree at two hundred yards distance.

The country produces an abundance of every thing necessary for the support of its inhabitants. They have multitudes of hogs, which breed rapidly, and some very large: dogs are highly relished, and rats are numerous and troublesome: common fowls are in great abundance. These, with the birds, constitute the chief of their animal food.

An effort had been made to increase their stock, but with little success. They had a breed of sheep which perished. They made attempts to dress the beef and mutton; but having no mode but burning them as the hogs, and baking them in their ovens, the hide was as tough as leather, and the taste highly offensive: this made them neglected and despised. The goats have fared better, but they are disliked for their smell, and the mischief they do the cloth plantations, and are so

inferior to their hogs and dogs, as never to be eaten by the natives. The cats multiply, and are useful.

They take great plenty of various sorts of fish, and they have such a profusion of roots, fruits, and vegetables, as can scarcely be enumerated: the greater part grow spontaneously, and need neither labour nor culture. The principal of these is the *ooroo*, or bread-fruit. This beautiful, useful, and highly esteemed vegetable, is in the highest perfection at Otaheite. It grows to the height of more than forty feet; in its branches it resembles the oak; the leaves are more like those of the fig-tree in colour and substance: they are a foot and a half in length, of an oblong form, the edges deeply indented, and the ribs yield, when broken, a white milky juice; from the trunk, which is about the thickness of a man's body, a strong gum exudes, which serves instead of pitch for the canoes, and as birdlime to catch the smaller birds; and which, by tapping, might be produced in great quantities. The tree is of quick growth, shoots again when cut down, and bears fruit in about four years. This nutritious food grows as large as a young child's head. Its surface is rough like net-work; the skin is thin; the core small; the intermediate part, which is eaten, white, and very like the crumb of a new loaf. It is divided like an apple, and the core taken out, and then roasted on the fire, or baked in an oven, when its taste is very similar to the crumb of the finest wheaten bread, with a slight sweetness. This tree affords from its bark their most durable clothing; the wood

is excellent for building, and for canoes, having the singular property of not being affected by the worms; and the leaves are used as wrappers for dressing their provisions. When the fruit is ripe, they gather it in quantities, and form it into a sour paste called mahie, which will keep till the fruit is again in season. When gathered for this use, they scrape off the outward rind, and lay it in heaps to mellow; a deep pit is then dug in the ground, and carefully lined with large leaves; this cavity is filled with the fruit, and strongly thatched down with a ridge like a mushroom bed; the whole is pressed close, and stones laid over it: there it ferments and settles: when the fermentation is over, they open the pit, and put up the fermented fruit in fresh leaves, taking out the core, and storing it for use, as we cover up potatoes for winter. Some, previous to this process, cut out the core, which makes the colour whiter, but prevents it from keeping so long. This tree continues bearing fruit for eight successive months every year, in such abundance that three trees furnish ample provision for one man.

At this season also of the ripe bread-fruit, they make a large oven called oppee. The chief, on this occasion, summons all his tenants and dependants, who bring each a certain quantity of the ripe fruit, and lodge it at his house, to the amount of fifteen or twenty hundred weight. They dig a hole eight or nine feet deep, paving it, and building it up with large pebbles; this they fill with wood, and set it on fire; when burnt out, and the stones thoroughly heated, they spread the embers on the bottom of the pit with

long poles: the pit is filled with the bread-fruit, and covered with stalks and leaves at the bottom and on the sides, and hot embers spread over them; the oven is then thatched down thickly with grass and leaves, and the earth that was dug out thrown over the whole. After two or three days it is fit for use, when they make an opening, take out as much as they need, and stop it again close. This paste makes a most nutritious sweet pudding, and all feast on it eagerly. During this festive season they seldom quit the house, and continue wrapped up in cloth: the use of this food for a month makes them so fair and fat, that they can scarcely breathe: the children afterwards grow amazingly. The baked bread-fruit in this state very much, in taste, resembles gingerbread.

The oowhe, or yams, grow wild in the mountains, from one to six feet long, and of different thickness: some will weigh as much as thirty pounds. They are very good eating; but being procured at a distance, and with more trouble, in the bread-fruit season they are little sought after. These also are baked.

There is a variety of other roots growing spontaneously, but seldom used, except in a scarcity of bread-fruit, or during any stay in the mountains; when they dig up and dress the roots around them, to avoid the trouble of carrying provisions. As they are expert at killing birds, with which the hills abound, and at catching fish, which the lakes and rivulets furnish in plenty, they seldom know want; though sometimes they are detained a considerable time in search of the sandal wood, dies

for their cloth, and sweet herbs and flowers for perfuming the cocoa-nut oil.

Of fruits they have the evee, improperly called the yellow apple; it is as large as a nonpareil, and of a bright golden hue, but oblong, and different in smell and taste from our apples, more resembling a peach in flavour, as well as in being a stone fruit. It has been compared to a pine-apple or mango. It grows on a large, beautifully spreading tree, three or four in a bunch; is propagated by seeds or suckers, soon produces fruit, and is in season a great part of the year. The bark also furnishes a transparent gum, like that on the plum-tree, called tapou, which they use as pitch for their canoes.

Next to the bread-fruit in usefulness, and almost equal to it, is the hearee, or cocoa-nut, which affords meat, drink, cloth, and oil. The husks are spun into ropes and lashings for the canoes, and used for calking. Of the leaves they make baskets, bonnets, and temporary houses; and of the trunk, fuel.

The rataa, or chesnut, is different both in size and shape from that of Europe. The fruit is flattened more as a bean, about two inches and a half across, but much resembling a chesnut in taste, and is roasted like it.

Shaddocks, transplanted from the Friendly Islands by British navigators, and called by the natives ooroo pappaa, foreign bread-fruit, are in no estimation.

The European visitors likewise have added pine-apples, lemons, limes, Indian corn, tobacco, ginger, &c. which, however, seem little valued by the islanders.



They have fifteen different sorts of plantains; one of these, which is called the faye, grows only on the mountains, and differs from all the other species; the stalk is of a raven, or deep purple colour, the leaves larger, and of a deeper green. The fruit grows all round the top of the stalk, and closely wedged in by the side of each other; when ripe it is a reddish brown, and within, a greenish yellow, and smells something like paint; if cut young, it resembles and smells like a cucumber. Of these they make a pudding which tastes like gooseberry-fool, called popoe faye. The root is as good as yam. Of plantains also they make a pudding, called tooparro, mixed with tarro and cocoa-nut, very like a custard.

The cocoa-nut oil is made by grating the full grown kernel into a large trough; after a few days' digestion the oil begins to separate, which they gently pour off, and mix with it fragrant herbs, flowers, and sandal wood, leaving the whole to macerate three weeks or a month, stirring the ingredients every day. When it has acquired a strong perfume, the oil is wrung out, and put into bamboos for use, and called manoe. There is a quicker method of extracting the oil by exposing the nuts broken to the sun; but the oil thus drawn is always rancid.

In preparing a hog for the table, they always either drown or strangle it: the latter is usually preferred. If the hog is large, they make two or three rounds of strong cord about his neck, and with a stick twist it till the breath is stopped: they wet it all over, and, surrounding it with dry leaves or grass,

singe off the hair, scraping it with sticks and cocoa-nut shells, and a rough stone, till the skin is perfectly clean. With a split bamboo, or knife, they open the belly, and take out the entrails and coagulated blood, which they divide into cocoa-nut shells mixed with some fat of the caul: to this they put hot stones, and make a kind of black pudding, by way of whet, whilst the hog is baking. The hog being washed within, the maw cleaned, and the rest of the entrails, the whole is placed in the pit, or oven, resting on its belly, and with it bread-fruit, yams, tarro, &c. It is then covered thick with plantain leaves, hot embers, and grass, with the earth which was dug out heaped upon it till ready; which, in a hog of a moderate size, requires at least two hours; but if the pig is small, less than half the time will serve. The leaves are placed so carefully, that not a particle of earth reaches the provisions, either in going in or coming out. In the same manner they dress all their other food; and they like it much cooked except their fish, which they prefer raw. Their cookery is simply baking or broiling, as they have no vessel of their own capable of bearing the fire. However, they lose nothing of the delicacy of their food in baking; and fish so dressed is preferable to being boiled.

They make three meals a day when at home, and eat heartily; and nothing pleases them more than to observe a stranger eat with an appetite. Every one endeavours to procure abundance for the stranger, even though he should go himself with an appetite unsatisfied. The greatest part of their diet is veg-

table, and it does not often fall to the lot of inferiors to have a regular supply of animal food. Whatever the sea produces they eat, affirming that nothing unclean can come from the water.

Any place serves for a dining-room; they often squat down on the grass, or under a shady tree, and always eat separately, for fear of incommoding each other with their fly-flaps. Green leaves from the nearest tree afford them a table-cloth, and before them is a cocoa-nut shell of fresh as well as salt water.

The feathered tribe is here very numerous: besides the common tame fowl, they have wild ducks, paroquets of various kinds and colours, the blue and white heron, fly-flapper, woodpecker, doves, boobies, noddies, gulls, peterels, sand-larks, plover, martin, men-of-war, and tropic birds, with a multitude of others unknown to us. The mountains produce a great variety of a larger and smaller size, for beauty and for song; which are never seen on the low lands, nor near the sea.

The tropic birds build their nests in holes of the cliffs; and as their long feathers are held in request for their paries and mourning dresses, they procure them in the following dangerous manner: from the top of the high cliffs, beaten by the waves beneath, a man is lowered down by a rope, seated across a stick: he searches all the holes from bottom to top, swinging from point to point by a staff he holds in his hands, and by the stones which project, or the shrubs which grow there. When he finds a bird on her nest, he

plucks out her tail-feathers, and lets her fly. When he can find no more birds, or is tired of the labour, he gives the signal to be drawn up. Dreadful as it may appear to be thus hanging thirty or forty fathoms down, and four times as many from the bottom, few accidents ever happen; though the sport is often continued many hours together.

They set a peculiar value on the shining black feathers of the men-of-war birds, which being birds of passage, they watch their arrival at the rainy season; a float of light wood is launched into the water, baited with a small fish; as soon as they observe the bird approaching, they stand ready with a pole of sixteen or eighteen feet long within reach of the float. The moment the bird darts at the fish to seize it, they strike at him with the pole, and seldom fail of bringing him down: if they miss their aim, the bird cannot be again tempted to approach. The cock bird is most valued, and a large hog will be sometimes exchanged for one.

Their fishing-tackle consists of seines, from five fathoms to fifty in length, and from one to four or five deep. Their hooks are made of pearl-shells, though they prefer iron, and form a nail into an excellent hook. Our hooks were highly esteemed by them. They have different sizes and shapes, for the different kinds of fish. Some made to represent the flying fish, others for putting on real fish, or what other bait the fish will take.

Quantities of fine rock fish are caught in pots. They are also expert at diving after them, and the totarra,

or hedgehog-fish, which they seldom catch in any other way. This fish, when pursued, takes refuge under the coral rocks; thither the diver pursues him, and brings him up with a finger in each eye. They sometimes continue under water an astonishing while, chasing the fish from hole to hole, and rise with one in each hand. The weather must be calm for good sport, as the least ripple on the water darkens the bottom. In dark nights they employ torches to draw the fish around the canoes, having lading nets ready to scoop them up. When the fish come into shallow water to spawn, they strip cocoa-nut leaves from the stem, and, knotting them on a line, sweep with them the reefs and shoal places, till they force them near the beach; when, with lade nets, or small seines, they take great quantities.

Besides these methods of fishing, they use two or three-pronged forks of toa wood, darting them at a distance from the beach, and when they strike a fish, swim after it; others, with many prongs, are hurled amidst a shoal from their canoes, and sometimes strike two or three fish at once.

Whales are seldom killed, except now and then young ones which get entangled in the reefs, or are thrown over them by the heavy surf. When they discover one in this situation, they surround him with their canoes, and thrust into him their war spears: but often have their canoes dashed in pieces before they can despatch him.

Their fish are numerous, of all sorts, sizes and colours, common to tropical regions; and many that are

peculiar to those seas, and for which no English names are known. Their fishing tackle displays the greatest ingenuity, and can be only exceeded by their art in using it: in this no nation can vie with them. The fisherman builds his own canoe, makes his lines, hooks, and bait, and all the necessary apparatus. The hooks are ground with coral, from pearl-shells, bones, the tusks of boars, and sometimes of hard wood; and of different shapes and sizes, according to the nature of the fishery. Some are formed like our artificial flies, and serve for bait and hook together, and though not bearded, seldom lose the fish when hooked: and notwithstanding the form to us appears most clumsy and rude, they will succeed, when we, with our best hooks, cannot.

The women who are not of the blood royal, or married to such, are forbidden to eat turtle, whale, porpoise, shark, albacore, and dolphin. The turtle not being caught in any great plenty, and regarded as a sacred fish, is usually sent to the chiefs, and eaten at the morai.

The shell-fish are abundant; pearl and small common oysters, crabs, cray-fish, cockles, some of an enormous size, conchs, muscles, tigers, winkles of various kinds, wilks, clams, prawns, shrimps, sea-eggs, and shells of peculiar beauty; there are also land crabs, but seldom eaten.

During the rains they catch great quantities of small fry at the mouth of the rivers: they form a large net, or rather a vast bag, of the cocoa-nut husk sewed together, with a wide mouth to receive the stream, which



is held open and secured by stones to the bottom. With cocoa-nut leaves stripped and tied together, called row, they sweep all before them into the bag-net, and catch bushels at a draught. Sometimes the women take each a bag-net and a basket, forming a line across the river, and hold it to the bottom by their feet, and the mouth open with their hands; and when they have filled their basket, go home and dress them. They seldom return empty-handed, and the queen herself and her mother are as often engaged in this work as any others.

They have also the same methods practised with us, of running a dam across the river where it is shoal, and leaving only sluices open, where the bag-nets are fixed: they go above, and plunge and beat the water, to drive the fish into the net; though to this they have seldom recourse till the waters are low, and the fish become scarce.

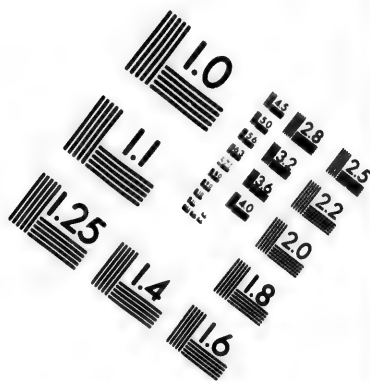
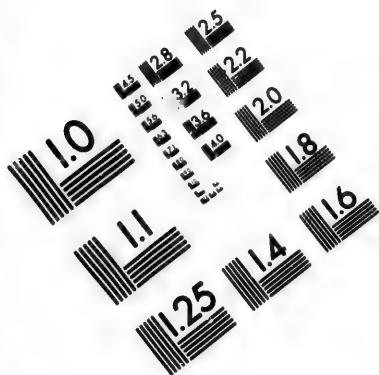
There is a fish of the conger eel kind which is poisonous, and affects them as sometimes muscles do us in England, but in a greater degree, producing vast swellings in the body, hands, and feet, and even depriving the limbs of sense and motion: they have, however, found out a medicine which in a few days expels the poison. An Englishman ate of this fish without inconvenience, whilst a native who devoured what was left was almost raving mad, his limbs swollen, inflamed as in the scarlet fever, with excruciating pain, and his eyes rolling as if they would start from their sockets: yet, after ten or twelve days, he recovered, by a preparation of herbs ministered by a priest with

many prayers. This kind of fish is about twenty inches long, the fins edged with green, the skin of a brownish hue, and called by the natives puhhe, pirre, rowte. It is caught about the reefs, and some are not poisonous, though they know not certainly how to distinguish the good from the bad. There is also a small red crab, no bigger than a horse-bean, so very deleterious, that it always kills the person who eats it. The hootdo, like our *coculus indicus*, is sometimes used by them to intoxicate and poison the fish; but this never injures the person who feeds upon them.

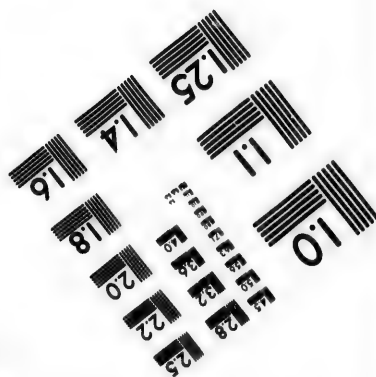
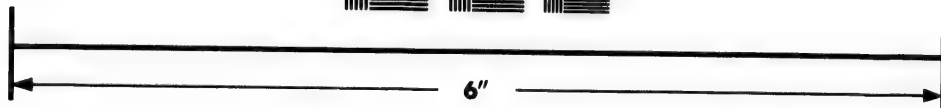
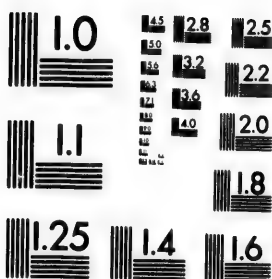
Their trees exhibit the greatest beauty and variety. The teayre has milk-white flowers, of a delicate smell, something like jasmine; with which they adorn their hair, being very fond of perfumes. This tree is large, and covered with flowers; it grows in the low lands, and is cultivated with great care. The booa grows on the mountains; it bears a light yellow flower of singular beauty and scent, with which the women form bandeaus for their hair. They have many other flowers of less fragrance. The tobacco planted by Captain Cook is spread over the island, the natives being particularly fond of the red blossom it bears, and also of smoking it when prepared. They have a variety of sweet herbs which they employ in perfuming their cloth and oil; one sort a kind of mint, they call mabooa. The tomanoo nuts afford also a perfume when pounded; they mix them with water, and steep their cloth in it, and for many days it retains a powerful scent, which, by degrees, is lost.

The youte, called *morus papyrifera*, cloth-plant, or





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Chinese paper mulberry, of which there are two kinds, one called myerre, the other poorow. This they carefully cultivate and preserve. The plants of this tree shoot up like osiers, and when ten or twelve feet in height, and three inches in circumference, they are cut down and carefully stripped of their bark : of this their finest white cloth is made. The rind being taken off, is carried to the water, the cuticle scraped off carefully, and well washed, till the sap and slime are separated from it ; they wrap this in plantain-leaves, and leave it for three days to digest, by which time it becomes clammy and fit for working into cloth. The bark is next spread of a regular thickness on the beam where it is to be beaten, about eight inches wide, and they begin with the grooved beetle to spread it out to a proper breadth and equal thickness in every part. A number of plantain-leaves are laid on the ground, and on these the cloth is spread to bleach in the early morning dew for several days, removing it as the sun grows high : when perfectly bleached, it is dried, and rolled up in bundles for use. This cloth is called hooboo and parrawye : if they wish it to be clouded, they break the outer bark with a stone, and wrap the sticks in leaves for three or four days before they bark them.

They mix also the inner bark of the tender branches of the bread-fruit tree with the cloth-plant, and prepare it in the same manner. If a chief, or man of property, has cloth to be made, he sends the mulberry-plants in bundles to his tenants, and they mix them with the bread-fruit, and bring home the cloth when



prepared. If he needs a piece of very large dimensions, he tells them when he shall set about it : on this day the women of the district assemble with their beetles, each bringing a quantity of materials; and the ground being covered with plantain-leaves, they place their work in a line, and set to it all together, beating time to a song given out by one of their principal helpers: and when they strike up, make a vast noise, two hundred sometimes being employed on one piece of cloth four fathoms wide, and forty fathoms long.

They make their cloth of a variety of colours; black, white, and several shades of crimson, yellow, gray, and brown. The black is died with the sap of the mountain-plantain, or under the roots of such cocoa-nut trees as grow in wet and swampy grounds, where they lay the cloth to soak for a day or two, then dry it, repeating the process till it becomes a deep black, when it is washed in salt water to fix the colour. This is called oowery. The brown is died or tanned with the bark of several trees, especially the toa, which gives a fine bright colour, heightened by the sun. The bark is scraped with a shell, and after lying to infuse in water, and wrung out, the cloth is dipped in the infusion, and spread in the sun to dry, repeating the operation till it becomes a fine bright brown, called heere and powheere. The yellow is extracted from turmeric or reya, which grows here in abundance, as well as of poohey, ava, or ginger. The gray is the natural colour of the cloth when unbleached; after being half worn it may be died brown, and lined

with white, by pasting two cloths together ; this is called hopaa. The red is produced from the matde berry.

When the brown cloth is worn out they bark the branches of the bread-fruit, and mix the old brown cloth with the new bark, beating them together, which makes a mottled piece : this they dip in a light yellow prepared from the root of a shrub called nono, which gives it a beautiful appearance ; they line it also with white, and infusing perfumes in the yellow die, call the cloth opotta potta : they have yet another kind of cloth called marra, made of the mulberry bark, half beaten : this consists of several layers of irregular thickness, for upper garments. At this the arreoies are peculiarly expert, though it is reckoned women's work, and requires skill and nicety in the joining, to prevent the part pasted on from stiffening the cloth ; this they paint with a beautiful crimson, called matde, extracted from a berry growing on a tree of the same name. The expressed juice of the berry they mix with the leaves of another tree called tow, and imprint sprigs and leaves on the cloth by wetting them with this juice, and impressing them on the cloth according to their fancy. The berries of the matde are brown when ripe, of the size of a sloe ; and being gathered, they nip them between the thumb and finger, expressing a yellow drop or two, which they sprinkle on the leaf of the tow, by hitting one hand against the other : two or three drops suffice for a leaf. When the berries are all nipped, and the leaves wetted, they are worked with the hands in a

wooden tray, sprinkling water on them till a beautiful crimson colour begins to appear, when they express the die from the leaves, and throw them away. They lay on the colour with a small brush of stringy fibres, made of a rush called mooo, like a camel's hair pencil.

There are other trees from which cloth is made, but the process is the same in all. Sometimes they paste together pieces of different colours, cut into curious shapes, in which display of taste the arreoies excel.

The women, with their feminine male associates, make the cloth; the men provide the materials. The beam on which the bark is spread is about twelve feet long, made of a hard wood called marra, squared to six or eight inches, and finely smoothed on the upper side. The beetles are formed of toa, about fourteen inches long, and two and a half square. The sides are grooved of four different sizes, as the cloth is to be made of a finer or coarser thread; the handle is round; the beetle is called ayey: the beam tdoot-dooa.

The variety of their trees and shrubs are very numerous, and, by the ingenious natives, used for purposes to which they are particularly adapted; some are so hard as soon to spoil the best axe, and yet formed into different implements, and curiously wrought by their own tools of stone and bone.

The bamboo, called ohhe, is a most useful tree, and grows in abundance on the hills, rising to the height of sixty feet, and of considerable thickness, though

not very strong. They use them, when full grown, for vessels to hold their oil, plain or perfumed, salt water, and any other liquids. They make good fences for houses: split fine, they serve for carving knives; are used for fishing-rods, for hooking down the bread-fruit, for cases, quivers for arrows, flutes, and a variety of other things. Of the smaller sort their arrows are made.

The oporro, or red Chili pepper, like the tobacco, is spread over the island.

Fwharra. The prickly palm. The leaves are six feet long, and four inches broad, with sharp prickles on the edges, and down the rib in the middle. This forms their thatch, the leaves lapping over each other, and sewed on the reed with the stem of a cocoa-nut leaf. The sharpened rib of a hog supplies the place of our thatcher's needle. The blossom, which is of a buff colour, and full of farina, highly perfumed, is a chief ingredient in scenting the cocoa-nut oil: the outside circle of wood is very hard, and furnishes points for their javelins; the inside is soft and spongy. The roots rise above ground, and support the stem like shores, standing thick round the bottom. The leaves furnish matting for the canoes, and mats for their heivas; some of the latter are ten or twelve fathoms long, and two fathoms wide.

Yava is a shrub, whose root is peppery and hot: as it furnishes their only intoxicating beverage, it is cultivated with great care. The preparation is disgusting: several women or men have each a portion given them to chew of the stem and root together,

which, when masticated, they spit into a bowl, into which some of the leaves of the plant are finely broken : they add water or cocoa-nut liquor ; the whole is well stirred, and soon ferments, when it is strained or wrung out in the moo grass, or cocoa-nut fibres, and drank in cups of folded leaves. It is highly intoxicating, and seems for a while to deprive them of the use of their limbs : they lie down and sleep till the effects are passed off, and during the time have their limbs chafed with their women's hands. A gill of the yava is a sufficient dose for a man. When they drink it, they always eat something afterwards, and frequently fall asleep with the provisions in their mouths ; when drank after a hearty meal it produces but little effect. After some continuance of yava-drinking, the skin begins to be covered with a whitish scurf, like the leprosy, which is regarded as a badge of nobility : the eyes grow red and inflamed ; and the soles of the feet parched and cracked into deep chaps. On the discontinuance of the practice, however, the skin soon becomes smooth and clean, and they grow fat, though few are found who deny themselves the use of it. This vice is confined mostly to the chiefs and their followers ; the common people can seldom procure such an indulgence.

Toe, or sugar-cane, grows here spontaneously, of a size equal to any in either Indies, and if cultivated, would be much larger and richer ; but the natives make very little use of it, except to chew a piece as they are travelling ; and when it gets high, they often set it on fire to clear the land.

Hoc erro toomo, the cabbage-tree, grows in the mountains, but to no great size. The natives seldom eat it. The leaves resemble fern, and form a circle round the top of the tree, the cabbage rising in the middle. The tree is about thirty feet high; the bark rough, and hanging down like the scales of a fish from top to bottom.

Among the herbs there is a kind of cresses which furnishes an agreeable salad. Radishes, calliloo, and all our culinary vegetables, are now cultivated; but the Otaheiteans are partial to their own produce, and little relish what has been carried to them, regarding them as curiosities, rather than of any utility.

Their canoes are of different sizes: they are narrow, and have outriggers, or are doubled by lashing two together. The war canoes are always double, from sixty to ninety feet long, about three feet wide, and six in depth: the stern rises from twelve to twenty-four feet high. They are strongly secured by cross pieces, firmly bound, and extending over both sides, being fifteen or twenty feet in length. The canoes themselves are from four to six feet asunder; on these a stage is erected for the warriors: in the stage there are scuttle-holes for paddling. Each canoe is paddled by sixty or a hundred men; and the largest capable of carrying three hundred persons. On the forepart, a breast-work of plank is raised about four feet high; at this the spearmen are posted; behind them the slingers, with piles or baskets of stones; and every paddler has this weapon. Their



attacks are made with great fury, running on board their adversary, and sparing none but those who attend the lashings. The vanquished can only save their lives by jumping into the sea, and swimming to the canoes not closely engaged. The canoe taken, is carried off by the conquerors in triumph. Such was the fate of great part of Otoo's fleet, the present Pomarre, soon after Cook left the island, and the loss hath never since been repaired; there are not, at present, five large war canoes at Otaheite.

The war canoes differ from the common ones in construction, having high bows, on which are carved rude images of men; and their sterns run up tapering, sometimes to twenty-four feet, and ornamented with the like figures: the bottom is sharp; the sides rounding in towards the top in the midship frame, like the print of a spade on a pack of cards. They are built of short pieces about six feet each, except the keel, which seldom exceeds three pieces, of twenty or thirty feet long, and sometimes is formed of two only. The short pieces are lashed together securely with sinnets made of cocoa-nut fibres; the seams are calked with the same, and payed with the bread-fruit gum; but a heavy sea opens the seams, and makes them leaky; and they have no method of clearing the water but by bailing with scoops, so that five or six hands are thus constantly employed at sea; and in port they are hauled up on dry ground, to prevent their sinking. The bread-fruit tree plank is preferred for durability; for though not a close-grained

wood, the salt-water worms will not touch it, a property which few others of their woods possess.

In building the canoes, they use fire to burn out the inside of the tree, and smooth the sides with coral and sand; but those who have iron tools prefer the method of cutting them into shape, and hollow, as far more expeditious. They prepare their pitch for paying the seams by wrapping the gum of the bread-fruit tree round candle-nuts stuck on skewers of cocoa-nut leaf ribs: these being lighted, the pitch drops into a tray of water, and squeezing out the aqueous particles, they spread it on the plank edge, and lay the cocoa-nut husk beaten fine over it; then smear it with pitch, and fit on the next plank, pressing it powerfully with ropes and levers, and securing it in its place with lashings.

The war canoes, and those sacred to the Eatooa, are built by a general levy: the chief issues his orders to the towas, they to the ratirras, who call upon their tenants, the manahoune, for hogs, cloth, oil, &c. to support the carpenters who are sent to the work. They first examine the hills, and pitch on the proper timbers: the ratirra on whose land it is found, sends men to cut it down, and hew it in the rough, under the carpenters' direction, that it may be the easier removed, as it is sometimes at a considerable distance. When the timbers are collected, and laid under the shed where the canoe is to be built, a feast is made to engage the favourable assistance of the Eatooa; and being very acceptable to the workmen, they hold

one before the tree is cut down, another at the commencement of the building, and on making fast every course. When the first strake or bottom is completed, there is a great entertainment and offering, and so on till the whole is finished, when the festivity is greatest, and the canoe for the Eatooa dressed out with cloth, breastplates, and red feathers, and a human victim is offered. The offerings for the war canoes are only hogs, &c. which are brought to the morai of the chief in whose district it is built; there the priests strangle them as usual, and clean them, smearing them over with their own blood, and placing them on the swhatta, or altar, with young plantain-trees, and long prayers: the entrails and guts are cleaned and eaten at the morai. Sometimes the hogs are dressed before they are offered on the altar; there they are left to putrefy, or be eaten by birds which frequent these places; the heron especially, and the woodpecker. These birds are respected as sacred, and never killed, as it is supposed the deity descends in them, when he comes to the morai to inspire the priest, and give an answer to their prayers.

The canoe offered to the Eatooa, finely dressed, is drawn up to the morai with all the sacrifices and oblations; there the eye of the dead victim is first offered to the king, with the plantain and prayers, and the body interred in the morai. The hogs are killed and offered as before, and the priests take the cloth and decorations, which are presented to the young king.

Considering the greatness of the work, and the beauty of the execution, it is astonishing how, without the knowledge of iron, without rule or compass, with a stone addice only, the leg or arm bone of a man sharpened for the purpose of chisel, gouge, and gimblet, with coral only and sand, they can carve so neatly, and finish so smoothly; our most ingenious workman could not exceed them. To cut with such instruments, out of the hardest and most solid wood to form planks, not more than two out of a tree, and build vessels capable of carrying three hundred persons, must require such endless labour and perseverance, as makes it wonderful how they should ever be finished.

The war canoes differ in construction, as well as size, from the fishing and travelling canoes; these latter being low for paddling, flat-sided, and consisting commonly of but one broad plank fixed on the tree hollowed out, with a raised stern. On the bow a plank projects about six or eight feet, on which a platform is laid, and a travelling house erected, which can be carried on shore and serve for a temporary abode: sometimes only an awning is spread, and here the passengers, or the persons of most dignity, are seated. The sterns are broad, and, according to the nobility of the owner, raised and ornamented, some to fourteen feet high, of carved work, representing men supporting each other on their hands, tier upon tier, and surmounted by a piece of carved work, of three or four feet round, and hollow, something

like a Gothic tower. These, according to their bulk, are paddled by from four to twenty men, and can be rowed single, or made double, as occasion requires.

Before the Duff took her final leave of Otaheite, Mr. W. Wilson made the tour of the island, for the purpose of ascertaining its population; to accomplish which, he adopted a mode suggested by one of the natives who resided in the district of Whyripoo, and who said, that in Whyripoo there were four matteynas, and to each matteyna there were ten tees; and by these he estimated the number of men, women, and children, to be about two hundred and fifty. Being desired to explain what a matteyna was, and what was a tee, the former, he said, was a principal house, distinguished either by a degree of rank in its ancient or present owner, or by a portion of land being attached to it; and sometimes on account of its central situation to a few other houses: that the matteyna sets up a tee (or image) at the morai, which entitles it to the liberty of worshipping there; and the other houses in the department of the matteyna claim a part in the same privilege, and are thence called tees: that in some matteynas there are eight or nine persons in the family, in others but two or three; and that it frequently happens, that a matteyna or a tee is totally deserted. Therefore, from this account, and what was seen of the thin population, six persons were allowed to each matteyna, and the same to a tee. By this mode of calculation, after journeying through all the districts, the number of persons upon the whole island was estimated at 16,050.

In making this survey an opportunity was afforded to show, that the natives are sensible of the advantages they derive from our iron tools. Mr. Wilson asked one of them for a stone hatchet, which will soon be a curiosity to themselves; but they had none: also how long it took them to build a canoe with iron tools; they answered, about one moon. He asked, how long they formerly were doing it with their stone hatchets: at this they laughed heartily, and counted ten moons.

On their way they called to see the body of Orepiah, preserved in a tupapow; who had not been many months dead, and was now in a perfectly dry state.—The man to whom the performance of this operation was intrusted, came and asked if they would like to see the body unshrouded; for, as it lay, nothing could be seen but the feet. Answering in the affirmative, he drew it out upon the uncovered stage, and took several wrappers of cloth off it; and, laughing all the while, placed the corpse in a sitting posture. The body had been opened, but the skin everywhere else was unbroken, and, adhering close to the bones, it appeared like a skeleton covered with oil-cloth. It had little or no smell, and would, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, remain so preserved a considerable time. The method they take for this is, to clear the body of the entrails, brain, &c.; then washing it well, they rub it daily outside and in with cocoa-nut oil, till the flesh is quite dried up: after which they leave it to the all-destroying hand of Time. This tupapow was constructed by driving four long stakes into the



ground, about six feet asunder, lengthwise, and four in breadth; besides these, two others, not so long by three feet, are driven on a line, and six feet from the former four: a stage is then made at the height of the shortest two, and the corpse being laid at one end, a thatched roof is raised upon the four highest stakes, to shelter it from the rain: the vacant part of the stage is to pull it upon, either for rubbing with the oil, or exhibiting it to the friends and relations of the deceased. On the adjoining trees, plantains and bread-fruit hung for the use of the dead. Being asked where they thought his spirit, or thinking part, had gone? At this they smiled, and said, "Harre po," that is, "Gone to the night."

In this journey they saw the great morai of Oberea, which is an enormous pile of stone-work, in form of a pyramid, on a parallelogram area; it has a flight of ten steps quite round, the first of which, from the ground, is six feet high, the rest about five feet; it is in length, at the base, two hundred and seventy feet, width at ditto ninety-four feet; at the top it is one hundred and eighty feet long, and about six wide: the steps are composed partly of regular rows of squared coral stones about eighteen inches high, and partly with bluish-coloured pebble stones, nearly round, of a hard texture, all about six inches diameter, and in their natural unhewn state: this is the outside. The inside, that is to say, what composes the solid mass, (for it has no hollow space,) is formed of stones of various kinds and shapes. It is a wonderful structure; and must have cost them immense time and pains to

bring such a quantity of stones together, and particularly to square the coral of the steps with the tools they had when it was raised; for it was before iron came among them: and as they were ignorant of mortar, or cement, it required all the care they have taken to fit the stones regularly to each other, that it might stand.

They were also shown the morai in which the natives said the ark of the Eatooa was deposited: it is erected on level ground, enclosed with a square wooden fence, each side of which may measure thirty or forty yards. About one half of the platform next the interior side of the square is paved, and on this pavement, nearly in the middle, there stands an altar upon sixteen wooden pillars, each eight feet high; it is forty feet long and seven feet wide; on the top of the pillars the platform for the offerings is laid, with thick matting upon it, which, overhanging each side, forms a deep fringe all around it. Upon this matting are offerings of whole hogs, turtle, large fish, plantains, young cocoa-nuts, &c.; the whole in a state of putrefaction, which sends an offensive smell all round the place. A large space on one side of the fence was broken down, and a heap of rough stones laid in the gap; upon these stones, and in a line with the fence, were placed what they call *tees*; these were boards from six to seven feet high, cut into various shapes.

In the month of May the Duff resumed her voyage to the Friendly Islands and Marquesas, to leave the following Missionaries who were desirous of settling on

Tongataboo, viz. Daniel Bowell, Benjamin Broomhall, John Buchanan, James Cooper, Samuel Harper, Seth Kelso, William Shelley, George Veeson, James Wilkinson, and James Gaulton; and John Harris and William Crook to the Marquesas. The Duff having left the Missionaries on the several islands, returned again to Otaheite, after an absence of six weeks, bringing back Brother Harris, who declined settling on the Marquesas, owing to some insults he had received from the natives: Brother Crook remained alone. The captain finding the deportment of the Otaheiteans highly satisfactory, and the Missionaries comfortably situated; the letters and journals were delivered; and after a short stay for an increase of provisions and water, the Duff sailed, on the 4th of August, on her homeward voyage, via China, &c.; the ship having been chartered by the East-India Company to carry a cargo from thence. Many thanks are certainly due by the Missionaries to Captain Wilson and officers, for their attention and polite behaviour, and rendering them as comfortable as the conveniences of a ship in such a long voyage could possibly admit. The ship's company, and Missionaries, enjoyed the best health during the whole of the voyage, excepting one or two being partially indisposed.

## CHAPTER IV.



Employment of the Missionaries.—Commence a large building on the European plan.—The writer and another Missionary make a tour round the large Peninsula.—The imposture of one of their Priests detected and exposed.

**T**HE writer will now proceed to notice the pursuits and various occupations of the Missionaries during their stay on the island; and the providence which necessitated them to leave it, and their voyage to New South Wales.

After the departure of the Duff, the house which was appropriated by the natives for the residence of the Missionaries, it was thought advisable to fit up, as a temporary dwelling only. Some joist and boards were accordingly sawed, and the whole divided into suitable apartments for the families, single men, store-room, dining room, &c. After they had thus far made their habitation as comfortable as possible, they contemplated building a large house, in the European fashion, not only for their accommodation, but also for strangers, who might touch at this island. The plan

of the building, and its site, being approved, the Missionaries unanimously proceeded to the work, by procuring timber, and sawing it into joist and boards. The major part of the Missionaries found this to be very hard work, as they had not heretofore been accustomed to such employ ; but as all things were common, and the work for the general good, they persevered therein cheerfully : they were also considerably aided by the natives, who, occasionally, lent a helping hand. An accident occurred which proved detrimental to us ; Peter Hodges, our blacksmith, in assisting with a raft of timber, had his leg broke, by means of a wave heaving a tree on the beach before he had time to get out of its way : of his services we were wholly deprived, arising partly from want of skill in the doctor, as he lost entirely the use of his leg. Two of the brethren were employed in building a boat 24 feet in length ; which was designed for visiting the various districts of Otaheite, and also the adjacent islands. In these pursuits the Missionaries were principally engaged, devoting a portion of the day to their various labours, and another to the learning of the language : a vocabulary of words in the Otaheitean tongue was procured in London, for the use of the mission ; and during the voyage many of the Missionaries had copied it, and had learned to converse in the language of the island, as they supposed, pretty well. But though the Missionaries could understand each other *in the Otaheitean language*, the natives could not, or would not, understand a single word of English. Occasionally small parties would make tours into the adjoin-

ing districts, by which they had a greater opportunity of learning the language, and also of discovering more minutely the disposition of the inhabitants.

In a tour round the island, in company with Dr. Gilham, we had an opportunity of witnessing the gross superstition of the people, and their total subjection to priestcraft: on our visit to Temarre, in the district of Pappara, a man presented himself in an old blue coat turned up with red, his head surrounded with numerous feathers, so as to hide his countenance entirely. He ran up to us with an unintelligible jargon, making a squeaking noise, and actions so wild, that we asked if the man was delirious. The natives, perceiving we were not frightened, said it was Temarre's son, the Eatooa ote, the little god, which killed Omiah and many others. Having with us a large Newfoundland dog, who not much approving the god's appearance and behaviour, fell upon him, which obliged the god to take to flight. After a while, the priest returned in a fury with a club in his hand, driving all before him; the women and children shrieking, and the natives trembling. We immediately jumped up to protect the dog, against which his rage was directed, wrestling the club from him, turned up the feathered cap, and discovered him to be a man, who had ran away from Matavai for robbing Pyetea. He was immediately charged with the theft; when he changed countenance and appeared much terrified. The natives interposing in his behalf, while his imposture was exposed, he fled, and was seen by us no more.

He appeared to be one of those called tahowra



Eatooa, who affect inspiration. Of these some pretend to belong to a particular deity, others to many : such as claim acquaintance with the superior Eatooas are of the most consequence, and obtain high reverence; and they perform their part with so much cunning and address, that the Swedes, as well as the mariners who preceded them, really believed the appearances supernatural, and that the devil was actually the agent.

When they are called upon to consult the deity, they assume a singular dress, ornamented with red and black feathers; to which they say the Eatooa is so partial, that on their approach to him in this habit, he descends to the earth at their call in one of the sacred birds which frequent the morais and feed on the sacrifices. As soon as the bird lights on the morai, the Eatooa quits the bird and enters the priest. He instantly begins to stretch and yawn, and rub his arms, legs, thighs and body, which is presently inflated as if the skin would burst; he distorts his eyes, sometimes staring wide, then half closed, and sinking into stupor; and, at other times, the whole frame is agitated, and appears to have undergone some sudden and surprising change. The speech is first low, the voice squeaking and interrupted; then on a sudden raised to an astonishing degree. He speaks intelligibly, and affects neither to know what he says, nor the persons of those around him; but his words are considered as oracles, and whatever he asks for the deity, or himself, is never refused, if it can be procured. Of this the actor affects to have no consciousness; his

assistant always takes care to minute the claims of the deity, and receives them from the person on whose account the deity was so condescending as to appear : these demands are generally very large.

When the deity quits the pretended inspired tahowra, he does it with such convulsions and violence as leave him motionless on the ground, and exhausted ; and this is contrived to be at the moment when the sacred bird takes his flight from the morai. On coming to himself he utters a loud shriek, and seems to awake as from a profound sleep, unconscious of all that has passed.

The priests have plenty of employment, being called in on all occasions, births or deaths, feasts or sickness ; and are the physicians as well as clergy of the country. They affect to possess extraordinary powers, to inflict diseases or remove them at pleasure, and are greatly feared on that account. They are supposed to be able to pray the evil spirit into the food, by rubbing a human skull with a part of the provisions they eat ; and sometimes to kill men outright. Thus Orepiah is thought to have died by Manne Manne's conjuration. They acknowledge that over the Missionaries they have no power, because they know not the names of their Gods and their grandfather ; which is necessary.

The priests who superintend the lower orders of the people act nearly in the same manner, differing only in cunning and abilities : among these are women who officiate, though not solely, for their own sex. They think it impossible that a child should come into the

the world without their assistance, though, in fact, they afford none. People of property, when sick, will have half a dozen priests and priestesses praying around them, and making offerings for them; and whichever of these, in the estimation of the sick person, is supposed to be the happy cause of his recovery, he is sure to be well rewarded, and always after to be highly respected. When a priest visits a person of consequence, he carries a young plantain in his hand, and before he enters the house offers a prayer, sticks a leaf of the plantain in the thatch, and throws the remainder of the tree on the roof.

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## CHAPTER V.



The arrival of a vessel from China in distress.—Disastrous consequences.—Otoo the king prohibits any commerce with the vessel.—The Missionaries supply the vessel from their private stores.—Departure of the vessel.—Returns again in a worse condition.—Most of the crew desert.—A deputation to the king.—The deputies cruelly beaten and stripped by the king's men.—Discovery of the intention of a formidable body of natives to attack the Missionaries.—Resolution of the majority to quit the island.—The captain agrees to take them to New South Wales.—Embarkation and departure from Otaheite.—Pass several of the Society Islands.—The ship very leaky.—Short of provisions.—Surrounded by nine waterspouts.—Discover Norfolk Island.—A gale of wind.—Providential escape.—Lord Howe's Island.—Arrive at Port Jackson.

**T**HUS were the Missionaries situated, and engaged in accomplishing their plans, looking forward to the fruits of their operations, and enjoying the blessings of a kind providence, together with peace and tranquillity with the natives during the period of about twelve months, when their cheering prospects and designs were thwarted by the arrival of a vessel from Macao in China, named the Nautilus, Captain

Bishop, and bound for the N. W. coast of America for fur skins for the China market. The natives having first discovered the vessel in the offing, they came with all speed with the information to the Missionaries, and were much pleased, supposing it was the Duff returned again to visit them. The Missionaries shortly after discovered her, and proceeded to make suitable preparations for the reception of the strangers, by providing refreshments: having previously erected a flag staff opposite their dwelling, they hoisted their colours, and displayed themselves to the greatest advantage. As the vessel neared the harbour, a committee, consisting of five or six, was deputed to put off, and learn to what nation they belonged, where bound, and whether in want of supplies. As the boat came alongside, it was evident they were suspicious of our intentions, by having their men stationed at the guns, and others in the main and foretops, with musketoons, boarding pikes, &c. to give their supposed invaders a *warm reception*; they having had no information of Europeans being here, and had not the most distant idea of a mission being established at so great a distance from their own country. These precautionary measures of defence were very necessary, especially when we reflect on their having no knowledge of Europeans being there, the English flag flying, no vessel in the harbour, and no correct intelligence of the disposition of the islanders. However, the deputies were politely received on board, and treated with the greatest courtesy and respect by the captain and officers; to whom the Missionaries related their

comfortable situation on the island, the motives which had induced them to settle there, the humane and gentle disposition of the inhabitants, the supplies their island afforded in the greatest abundance. This information was peculiarly gratifying to them, as they were reduced, by adverse weather and long continuance at sea, to very distressing circumstances, as will appear from the captain's recital of his voyage, and of their adversities from the period of leaving Macao to their arrival at Otaheite. He observed, that, shortly after leaving China they were overtaken by various gales of wind, in one of which they sprung the foremast: they were then obliged to bear away for the nearest port, which was Kamschatka, where the vessel underwent the necessary repairs; which being completed, they again proceeded for the N. W. coast, but had left that place only a few days, when they again encountered severe storms, in which they sustained other damages. They were therefore obliged a second time to put into Kamschatka. When they had refitted their vessel, and procured such supplies as the place afforded, they attempted again to proceed for the N. W. coast, but were ultimately prevented from pursuing the object of their destination by various providential dispensations, particularly in the time being prolonged, and their vessel considerably disabled by the preceding events, the shortness of their provisions, and being intercepted by subsequent gales of wind, which obliged them to bear away for the Sandwich Islands, where they were in expectation of being amply supplied. They arrived at the Island Owhyee, one of that group,

when, on minutely investigating the condition of the vessel, and not being able to procure a sufficient supply of provisions and other necessities, they were under the unavoidable necessity of running down to Otaheite in order to recruit their stores, and repair the vessel as well as circumstances would permit. Afterwards they intended to proceed to Massafuro on the W. coast of S. America for skins; (having relinquished their former object;) but on their arrival here, the vessel was found to be in a bad state, very leaky, the copper worn off, and otherwise too dangerously conditioned to prolong the voyage without having her careened, and undergoing a thorough repair; which was altogether impracticable at this island. The condition of the vessel, want of provisions, &c. fully confirmed the captain's narrative. The supercargo was sitting on the quarter-deck eating his breakfast of rice out of a wooden dish, and it appeared that this was used by all in the cabin in succession, having in the gales lost or broke all their crockery; of which, when they left China, they had an abundant supply. Their provisions were nearly expended, and water only for a few days; and the crew was almost exhausted with fatigue in constant pumping the vessel; and also suffering the want of the common necessities of life. The Missionaries inquired of the captain what articles of commerce he had on board, wherewith he could trade with the natives for the supplies he wanted; that they might inform him at how much the people would value them, and that he might regulate his speculations accordingly. The captain informed



them that blue cloth, China boxes, muskets and ammunition, were principally their investment, and was designed for trading on the N. W. coast for skins. When this information respecting the arms was communicated to the Missionaries, it created considerable anxiety in their minds, as such instruments were more highly prized than any other species of property; for such is their dread of fire-arms, that the chief who possesses most is considered the greatest, and most absolute, and is sure to be followed by the largest numbers in the event of war. This article, therefore, the Missionaries wished to prevent being circulated among them, because they have sometimes been productive of war and bloodshed. The human mind is not more or less depraved in Otaheite, than in the contending countries of what is called civilized Europe. It is everywhere common for the strongest power to assume a despotic sway over the weakest; and frequently these acts of tyranny and oppression are *varnished* over with the title of "just rights, national honour," &c. and, generally, heaven is called upon to witness that they are moved in these acts of aggression by the most honourable motives—to seek a just reparation. The Missionaries entreated the captain not to trade with the arms, promising at the same time that if he should not be able to procure a sufficient supply with the other articles, they would make up the deficiency from their own stores, to which the captain agreed. They also enjoined upon him to keep this negotiation secret from the natives, because, should they hear of it, the event would no doubt sub-

ject the Missionaries to serious difficulties; as was ultimately the case. Blue cloth, and the other articles of commerce, may be esteemed valuable commodities on the N. W. coast; but not so in Otaheite; had it been scarlet, instead of blue, it would have been purchased with greater avidity, and proved very satisfactory. However, notwithstanding secrecy being enjoined in the preceding arrangement, the natives unfortunately became acquainted therewith, by means of one of the Swedes, or some of the natives of Owhyee, (who had taken passage on board the Nautilus.) The result terminated as was apprehended; for the king immediately prohibited any further commerce with the vessel: neither were provisions of any kind suffered to be sent on board. The Missionaries were therefore under the necessity of supplying them out of their own stores, agreeably to previous engagement. About forty-five large hogs, a sufficiency of water, and other necessaries, were accordingly sent on board; also several important repairs to the vessel were completed: after which the captain was determined, notwithstanding the shattered state of the vessel, to proceed to Massafuro, as noticed before. When the supplies were on board, and the vessel put in the best possible order, they proceeded accordingly on their voyage.

The Missionaries having furnished the vessel from their own stores, found in consequence their stock had grown very small, which obliged them to have recourse to the natives to recruit it again: but on application, they found it impossible to purchase any, though larger prices were offered than heretofore.

They now discovered that the prohibition ordered by the king did not extend merely to the ship, but also to them. Distant behaviour and jealousy were in consequence very apparent in the natives, and those who had been most familiar endeavoured to shun the company of the Missionaries, whereas, before the arrival of this vessel, the greatest confidence was reposed in them. Thus were they reduced to difficulties, and, by the hostile disposition of the islanders, they apprehended still greater. The Missionaries remained in this anxious state of suspense about a week, when information of a ship in sight from the heights was brought to their dwelling, which they shortly after perceived was the Nautilus. The variety of conjectures entertained by the Missionaries on this occasion were great, to ascertain the reason of her return so early after her departure. In order to learn the cause, the Missionary boat was despatched on board, when they were informed that they had experienced a heavy gale of wind, in which, before they could kill and secure the hogs they had received at Otaheite, the whole were washed overboard, by the violence of the gale, and seas continually breaking in upon the deck, and at times they with great difficulty could preserve themselves, and of the stock they had received only one goat was remaining on board. At this information the Missionaries were greatly perplexed, as the difficulties were doubtless greater than any they had heretofore sustained—they were at a loss to know what was the most proper conduct to pursue under these accumulations of distress, for the ship was

now in a much worse condition than on her first arrival. Being compelled either to permit the captain to trade with the fire-arms, or to furnish him again from their scanty remaining stores, they resolved on the latter, trusting to providence for their future supplies. Thus were they hedged up on every side, by the most trying events, which portended annihilation to their peaceable residence any longer upon this island. An additional occurrence of distress took place on the second night after their arrival, by the desertion of the greater part of the crew; the whole of the natives from Owhyee absconded by swimming on shore, (the distance was about 1 1-2 mile,) and shortly after two Europeans made off with the ship's boat, and secreted themselves among the mountains. In the morning, when the captain found himself deserted by the principal part of his company, together with the loss of the boat, (the only one he had,) his situation was rendered the most abject and distressing; for, without the recovery of the boat and some of the deserters, it would be altogether impossible to proceed on the voyage. Therefore he wrote to the Missionaries, informing them of the preceding night's occurrences, and requesting them to use their influence with the king for the recovery of the boat and crew. The Missionaries accordingly met to consult on the proper mode of attending to this request; when it was resolved that a party should be sent in search of the boat, and a deputation of four to the king, to entreat him to exert his authority that the deserters might be returned on board. Accordingly, those who were ap-

pointed to wait on the king left the settlement early in the morning, and those to search for the boat proceeded to the accomplishment of that object. Shortly after their departure the boat was discovered by means of information from one of the native boys: it was sunk in the fresh water river, (which runs at the back of the beach,) filled with stones, and covered over with bushes; and in all probability it would have remained undiscovered till the vessel had left there, had it not been for the assistance of this boy. On the recovery of the boat, it was immediately sent on board to be repaired, having been considerably damaged by the weight of stones, and other bad usage.

At about 4 P. M. a native boy returned to the settlement (one who had accompanied the deputies to the king) apparently in the greatest consternation, who then informed the Missionaries of the treatment their deputies had sustained; that on their arrival in the district of Oparre, they were assailed by a party of the king's men, in number about three or four hundred, who had abused and beaten them in a shocking manner, and that he expected they were all killed; that he had made his escape as early as possible; and moreover he was positively assured, from information he had gained, that there were large parties of armed natives collected together, under the orders of the king, and it was designed that an attack should be made that night on the settlement. This information created great uneasiness in the minds of the Missionaries, and for a long time they were in the utmost anxiety for the safety of the deputies, and also as to the

most consistent mode of conducting themselves under these adverse circumstances. Their apprehensions, however, respecting the safety of the deputies, were, about dusk, relieved by their arrival in a canoe, who fully confirmed the information given by the boy, and added, as their opinion, that it was absolutely necessary to keep a strong guard during the night, being persuaded, from the hostile disposition of the natives, that they designed an immediate attack. The deputies then narrated the trials they had gone through, and the indignities to which they were subjected: that on their arrival in the district before mentioned, they were met by a considerable party of the king's men, who beat them unmercifully, tore their clothes from off them with the greatest violence, dragged them through rivers, and otherwise ill treated them: in short, they expected nothing but immediate death. But providence rescued them from destruction by means of Pomarre, the king's father, who had heard of their situation, when immediately a message was sent by him to the king insisting on their being released, which, to their great joy, was attended to. They were then sent to Pomarre's house, who fed and clothed them in the native habit: after having thus comforted them, they were sent home under his protection in one of his canoes.

Consternation and confusion were now increased in consequence of a report just arrived, that the natives intended making the attack were already assembled in great numbers in the district, and detachments were very near the settlement waiting for the word of

command. This information, together with the rough treatment the deputies had experienced, left no doubt in the minds of any that a determined plan was laid to strike a final blow as soon as night should favour their designs. These circumstances bore heavy on the minds of the Missionaries, as they seemed to portend their destruction, or at least to defeat their attempts to establish a permanent settlement on this island. The contrariety of opinions prevailing on this occasion, together with the distressed situation of the women and children, constituted it a very trying period. Some were desirous of soliciting the captain to remove them to an adjacent island, so that they might have an opportunity of returning to Otaheite when the indignation would be past: others were for being removed to Port Jackson, relinquishing the idea of ever returning to this place; and others were for still continuing on the island, and leaving the event of their destination in the hands of God, the dispenser of all things. During these consultations, two of the Missionaries went a short distance into the district in order to be more fully confirmed in the preceding reports, and to observe the disposition of the natives. As they were proceeding towards some huts which were partly concealed with the surrounding trees, they discovered them full of armed men, who, when they saw the Missionaries, immediately retreated towards other huts in their rear, which were also filled with armed natives, when they also retreated as before. On seeing such numbers, and fearing an ambushment, it was thought advisable to return. One of the Missionaries fired a



pistol over the heads of the natives at which they instantly stooped to the earth, for the ball to pass over; the whole then retreated still further into the country, being joined by others immediately after. The Missionaries thereupon returned and reported what they had seen, intimating, at the same time, that an attack might be expected that night. The greater part then resolved, as they had before contemplated, to send a deputation to the captain, to request him to take them off the island, as every prospect or probability of residing any longer comfortably among the inhabitants had vanished. The deputies were accordingly sent and kindly received by the captain, who cordially assented to the proposition, for all, or as many as had concluded to take passage with him to New South Wales; (he having relinquished the idea of making any further attempt towards the accomplishment of his original destination;) that they were at liberty to come immediately on board, with whatever effects they designed to remove, as he was determined to sail direct to Port Jackson, in order that the vessel might be thoroughly repaired. When this information was communicated to the Missionaries, they made immediate preparation for the voyage; the remaining stock of provisions, together with a few more hogs, which they had purchased at an exorbitant price, with some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, plantains, &c. were sent on board. Their private property being shipped, the Missionaries embarked, and early the next morning, the wind being fair, weighed anchor and proceeded on the voyage for New South Wales. The families (excepting Mr. and

Mrs. Eyre) embarked with the majority of the single men. The consequences resulting from the preceding events were peculiarly trying, and sincerely regretted by those who left. It may, however, appear to some, that their conduct was precipitate and censurable, thus to relinquish the object of the mission, especially as there were numerous islands adjacent, in which they might have found shelter until the Otaheitean storm had subsided. To which may be replied, as the general opinion of the brethren, that Missionary labours were as much required in the colony of New South Wales as in the Society Islands, and that a greater probability existed of more easily returning from Port Jackson, should they be so disposed, than appeared likely from some of the adjacent islands. The brethren left at Otaheite were Mrs. and Mr. Eyre, John Jefferson, Henry Bicknell, Benjamin Broomhall, and Henry Nott. From the advanced age of Mrs. Eyre, and the difficulties which she had experienced on the passage from England, it was probable that the voyage to Port Jackson would subject her to greater distress than she could suffer by remaining on the island. The other brethren thought it was their duty to remain, at all events, in the station in which providence had placed them.

Passed Eimeo, and shortly after came in sight of Ulitea, Uheine, and other of the Society Islands, but, having a favourable breeze, and pleasant weather, made no stay.

From the weak state of the crew, in consequence of the desertions at Otaheite, the Missionaries were di-

vided into the watches, and were obliged to perform the duty of seamen. The weather continued fair and pleasant, with alternate calms; but notwithstanding the serenity of the weather, they were under the necessity of pumping every hour, and in rough weather she could scarcely be freed by pumping every half hour. The Nautilus proved to be a very bad sailer, arising principally from the copper being so much torn, and bent backwards. After being at sea about a month, found our stock of provisions had grown very scanty, which reduced us to *short allowance*. The hogs on board were in a state of starvation; not being able to procure sufficient food for them at Otaheite. Some of their flesh, with a little rice, and a small portion of water, constituted our daily fare: however, we were in some measure comforted under these deprivations, by expecting to touch at Norfolk Island, where we hoped to procure an abundant supply. One morning, at about 7 o'clock, our company was considerably alarmed by a collection of nine water-spouts; some of which were within a quarter of a mile of the vessel. The firing of guns was resorted to on this occasion, which had the desired effect of dispersing them. It was a grand scene, and displayed the wisdom and power of the Almighty: the sea was greatly agitated, and immense waters were drawn up by the clouds.

We arrived in sight of Norfolk Island on the 22d of April. The captain designed to put in for fresh provisions, but having discovered the land about 20 miles to leeward, a heavy sea running, and our vessel in bad

condition for working to windward, we could not gain the island, though we persevered a whole day to effect that object; and instead of approaching nearer, found that every tack drove us farther off. Therefore any further attempt was relinquished, and we then bore away for Port Jackson. Some fresh provisions would have been very acceptable, particularly bread and potatoes, as many on board had almost forgotten the taste of these things; and also from our real wants.

This island is delightful in appearance, and from its situation and diversified hills and vales must render it a healthy and fertile island. It is chiefly covered with a thick forest of pine trees, which grow to an immense height; the wood is useful in building, and appears durable. Norfolk Island is inhabited by a detachment of convicts from the colony at Port Jackson, whose crimes have not merited death. This is the second transportation, from whence few are ever permitted to return. This island lies E. of New South Wales about 900 miles, lat.  $29^{\circ} 4'$  S. long.  $168^{\circ} 12'$  E.

The beginning of May we arrived in the latitude of Lord Howe's Island, distant from Norfolk Island about 400 miles, when we experienced a heavy gale of wind; Captain Bishop, supposing we were to the northward of the island about 30 miles, continued standing before the gale, not suspecting any danger, when, about 11 o'clock P. M. the second mate having the watch on deck, discovered a rock called the Pyramid, distant about one league from Lord Howe's Isl-

and: we were standing direct on the Pyramid, and it was the general opinion, that five minutes' more sailing in the same direction would have ended the voyage with our lives; but providence in a remarkable manner interposed for our deliverance; a tremendous squall of wind and rain had just passed, leaving a sufficient gleam of light for us to discover the rock, the distance from which was judged to be about three quarters of a mile. In this trying situation, confusion and dismay pervaded the whole company. The night was very dark, exceedingly tempestuous, and accompanied with heavy rain: under these circumstances, the captain hardly knew which way to put the ship, whether to wear, or throw her on the wind; for, from the bad state of her bottom, and her sails considerably torn, she could not lay nearer than seven points of the wind, and making two more of lee-way; however, he determined to throw her on the wind, which proved right; for in so doing we stood both from the rock and island also, and comparatively escaped within a hair's breadth, without experiencing any other difficulty than continually pumping, suffering the effects of the drenching rains, and the repetition of seas breaking over us. Thus the interposition of providence appeared in our behalf, by rescuing us from that danger, which portended immediate destruction; for the situation of the vessel was such that no reasonable expectation of deliverance could be entertained.

The weather for two or three days subsequent continued squally and hazy. Nothing particularly

occurred worth noticing after leaving Norfolk Island till our view of the coast of New South Wales, which we discovered on the 13th May, 1798, and on the 14th arrived at Port Jackson, after a voyage of six weeks, all in better health than could reasonably have been expected, when the length of the voyage, and the circumstances under which we laboured, are considered.

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## CHAPTER VI.



Introduction into the colony.—Generosity of Governor Hunter.

—Arrival of a ship from Calcutta.—The writer engages with Mr. Robert Campbell, the supercargo, as an assistant, and is appointed his agent during his absence to Calcutta.—The house broken open and robbed.—The thieves discovered and convicted.—Some of the Missionaries commenced preaching.—Brother Samuel Clode, one of the Missionaries, murdered by some convicts.—The surviving Missionaries arrive from Tongataboo, with an account of their disasters, and description of that island, customs, &c.

THE Missionaries held a consultation, on the subject of addressing a letter to Mr. Johnson, the Episcopal minister, (and the only religious society in the colony,) stating their motives for leaving England, the object of the mission, the disaster which befel them at Otaheite, &c. and soliciting him to use his influence with the governor (Hunter) in our behalf to appoint us a dwelling for a temporary residence, until an opportunity offered for providing for ourselves; to which he cheerfully acceded; when, on the following day, his excellency the governor appointed for our ac-



commodation a comfortable habitation, and in addition, he generously placed us as pensioners on the public stores, from which we received a weekly ration of 15lb. of wheat, which we exchanged with the bakers for bread; we also had an allowance of 3 1-2 lb. of pork, or 7lb. of beef. This, together with some vegetables, which we purchased of the inhabitants at an exorbitant rate, and water, constituted our daily repast. On this we lived for about three weeks, but finding the allowance rather pinching, and having no property that we could conveniently dispose of for money, and no employment by which we could add to the provision granted by the governor, rendered our situation rather uncomfortable. It may be necessary here to remark that the provision granted to us by the governor, is the general allowance both to the officers, soldiers and convicts.

The Missionaries were invited to become settlers in the colony, to accept the usual donation of land, which the government gives to *freemen*. Notwithstanding these encouraging offers on the part of the government, many of the Missionaries viewed them in a gloomy light: the necessity of continued hard labour for two years, in cutting down trees, cultivating the land, and erecting the necessary buildings, in order to make it a comfortable and permanent residence, was very discouraging, especially as many had never been accustomed to such labour, caused them to quit the idea of thus settling in the colony. On the other hand, when they reflected how they could be otherwise employed, so as to maintain themselves

comfortably, many depressing circumstances were presented.

At this time the ship *Hunter* arrived from Calcutta, laden with a general investment of merchandise for the colony; in short, with almost every article the colonists were in great want of; and no period since the first establishment required supplies so much as this; for they were reduced to merely pork, beef, bread, and water; and of these but a scanty supply; excepting a few individuals, who had, remaining from former imports, some rum, tea, sugar, dry goods, &c. and were in consequence amassing abundant riches. Previous to this arrival, rum was selling at four guineas per gallon, tea four guineas per lb. sugar of an inferior quality, six shillings per lb., a *leaf* of tobacco for six pence, and other goods in the same exorbitant proportion. This supply was therefore happy for the people in general, as the most indigent were enabled to lay in a winter stock.

The narrative respecting the Missionaries in their collective capacity must be left for the present; as the subsequent detail will mostly relate to the writer. His prospect of being comfortably situated as a colonist, was, with many of his brethren, considered gloomy. He therefore determined to entreat the captain of the *Hunter* to grant him a passage, on the return of his vessel to the East Indies, supposing thereby that a conveyance to Europe might be more easily effected than from New South Wales, but on application he was much grieved by a sharp refusal: however, real supplicants, whose circumstances are

desperate, will not be driven from their pursuit by the first, second, or third repulse; for their necessities will urge them on to perseverance. Thus was the writer situated, being compelled by future prospects to solicit the captain a second time; when he endeavoured to address his feelings, in pointing out his former mode of living, and that the hope of being comfortably situated in the colony was very uncertain. This application was also unsuccessful; however, another attempt was determined on, notwithstanding the opposition of the captain. The third solicitation was made when the supercargo (Mr. Robert Campbell) was in his company; the request was again urged; to which Mr. C. manifested considerable attention, and a different disposition from that of the captain. Mr. C. then interrogated me respecting my former employ in Europe, character, qualifications, &c. The result of which was, without any further ceremony, an invitation to breakfast at his house the next morning; this, as may be supposed, was cheerfully embraced. Being now introduced from short allowance to the abundant variety of an East-India breakfast, though in Port Jackson, was no small gratification. Thus, from the meanest fare, I was entertained with the parade and luxury of the eastern style of living. In the course of our conversation at breakfast Mr. Campbell informed me that he had sold a large portion of the cargo of the Hunter to the officers of the colony, and therefore he was disposed to enter into an engagement with me to remain on board the ship, to keep the ac-

counts during the delivery of the cargo. To this I gladly consented, and entered upon the office, and continued till the whole of the cargo was discharged, with expressions of approbation from my employer. Of the cargo of the Hunter, about two thousand pounds sterling worth remained unsold, consisting principally of dry goods, sugars, and spirits: from the excellent sales Mr. C. had made he was encouraged to proceed direct to Calcutta for another investment, when he requested me to accept the office of agent for him during his absence, to sell the remaining part, and collect some outstanding debts. The Hunter was despatched to New Zealand for a cargo of spars for the Calcutta market. And Mr. C. sailed in another vessel, leaving me with his instructions, as to the disposal of the remaining cargo, a power of attorney, &c. and expressing his intention of returning again to the colony in about nine months; but instead of returning, according to the proposed time, from the long voyage of the Hunter he was detained 17 months. During his absence I made many good sales, and some bad ones.

Having been invited to dine with a party, it was proposed, after dinner, to take a ride into the country, to which I agreed; but not being properly equipped. I was under the necessity of returning home to change a part of my dress, when, to my great astonishment, I found that the house and store had been broken open, and to every appearance had been plundered to a considerable amount. Hesitating for some time as to the best mode of procedure, I at length concluded to

secure the place as well as circumstances would admit : this being accomplished, I proceeded to obtain the aid of the provost marshal, who readily attended to my request. We then made diligent search for the property, a large portion of which we found secreted in a pig-sty, covered with filth, and goods were found strewed about in different parts. We also made an immediate discovery of the thieves, who were accordingly secured. It appeared they had made very free with the *rum bottle*, to which was attributed so early and complete a detection. The property found consisted of the most valuable India muslins, dimities, &c. Under these circumstances, an immediate inspection of the stock and sales was necessary, in order that a knowledge of what was missing might be ascertained ; when there appeared a deficiency of between two and three hundred pounds.

Some of the Missionaries commenced preaching at the northern boundary, and continued with prospect of success about three months, when the number of their hearers declining, they were greatly discouraged ; but by perseverance their hopes were revived ; the number of hearers increased, and twenty-two settlers in the district called Kissing Point, voluntarily offered to build a place for public worship, requesting the continuance of their services, and that they would use their interest with the governor to appoint a schoolmaster to teach their children. His excellency not only appointed a teacher, but gave them some materials towards erecting the building, thereby manifesting his decided approbation of the Missionaries' service.

The beginning of July, 1793, Samuel Clode, one of the Missionaries, was cruelly murdered by a soldier named Jones, to whom he had lent some money; the circumstances of this murder are as follows: Mr. Clode having lent Jones a sum of money, and having made an engagement to return to England, he asked Jones for the payment, and Tuesday afternoon was appointed for the settlement. Prior to this time, Jones had engaged a man of the name of Elbray to assist him in his cruel intention, who, it was designed, should come behind Mr. Clode and knock him down with an axe provided for the purpose, and placed in a corner of the room; after Mr. Clode had entered the house, and was seated in a chair placed for him, Elbray came in; he took up the axe, but, his heart failing him, he laid it down again, and went out of doors, where he staid till he heard the first blow given by Jones; who, inhuman to relate, repeated his blows so often that Elbray at last cried out, "for God's sake, Jones, you have knocked him all to pieces;" they then dragged him into an outhouse, where the brutal wretch, Jones, cut his throat from ear to ear, and some time after they took up the mangled body, threw it into a sawpit, and covered it with green boughs. The providence of God appears singularly in bringing this horrid murder to light. A man had been at work hoeing for several days round this pit, and in the evening used to leave his hoe in the pit; going to work the next morning, and looking for his hoe, he was surprised to see so many green boughs laid over the pit;

suspecting something was there *planted*, i. e. some property that had been stolen was concealed, he put in his hoe, and removed the boughs, when he immediately saw the hand of a dead man. He then called out to a man who was cutting fire-wood at a small distance; three or four others came at the same time, Jones among the rest, and immediately charged the man who first discovered Mr. Clode in this mangled condition, with the murder, and wanted to tie his hands with a handkerchief, and take him into the camp a prisoner.

News of this shocking accident soon spread in all directions. Suspicions falling upon Jones, the path leading from the pit to his house was closely examined, and blood traced (some of the brains of the deceased laid in different places) to the very door, and making further search in the house, blood was discovered in different parts, particularly in the outhouse. The axe was found with blood and brains upon it, though it had been previously washed; the knife and a blanket were discovered in the same state. The governor and Mr. Johnson soon went and saw Mr. Clode's remains, after which they went into the camp, whither Jones had returned, who expressed his concern for the murder of a man he so dearly loved, and to whom he was so much indebted for his kindness and attention to him and his family, in times of sickness; he again endeavoured to throw the murder upon the man that first discovered Mr. C. in the pit. From the tale he told, and other circumstances concerning it, the man was thrown into prison; but



at the very time Jones was speaking, another man came up, and, in the presence of the governor, Mr. Johnson, and other gentlemen, said to Jones, " Jones, you are the murderer ; blood is traced from the pit directly to your house." He then began to protest his innocence, and to repeat his expressions of esteem and affection for the deceased. His body was examined, and blood was found upon one of his fingers. He was taken to the pit, and ordered to look at the body, and to touch it. He replied, " Yes, I will, and kiss him too if you please, for I love him as my brother."

Circumstances confirming the guilt of Jones, he, his wife, and two men who lived in his house, were immediately apprehended, and the next day, Thursday, a criminal court was convened purposely to try them, when three, viz. Jones, his wife, and Elbray, were convicted upon the clearest evidence, and it was feared the fourth, though acquitted, was a party in some way concerned. Jones continued hardened to the last, and his wife little better; but Elbray, struck with remorse, made a full confession of the whole transaction, first to a sergeant in the corps, and afterwards to Mr. Johnson, from which the above account was taken.

By an order of the governor, the house in which the murder was committed was on Saturday burnt to ashes; a temporary gallows was erected upon the same spot, and at twelve o'clock, these three inhuman wretches were taken out of their prison, and conveyed in a cart to the place, where they were launched into

eternity, rather execrated than pitied by a numerous multitude of spectators. The bodies of the two men were hung in chains near the place, and that of the woman was given to the surgeons for dissection.

In the interim Mr. Johnson kindly gave directions for the body of Mr. Clode to be brought into town, to a small hut of his own, and ordered a decent coffin, shroud, &c. to be made. Numbers went to see him, and many with tears lamented his untimely end. On Friday his remains were committed to the silent grave with the greatest possible respect. The pall was borne by five surgeons and Captain Wilkinson. His excellency the governor walked with Mr. Johnson before the corpse; which was followed by the Missionaries, several officers and others. After Mr. Johnson had read the burial service, a hymn was given out by Mr. Cover, and Mr. Johnson concluded the solemn service by a short address to the spectators. He was so much affected that he could say but little; and many of his hearers were in tears: he gave notice that he purposed to preach a discourse on the Sunday but one next following; when he preached in the morning from 2 Samuel, c. 16. v. 17. "Is this thy kindness to thy friend?" and in the afternoon from Jeremiah, c. 6. v. 10. "To whom shall I speak and give warning that they may hear?" Mr. Johnson gave the following character of the deceased: "As a christian he was both humble and exemplary; as a surgeon, humane and attentive; and as a Missionary, he spent much time among the natives; by whom, as well as by persons of every description

belonging to the colony, he lived beloved and died lamented."

In the month of February, 1800, two vessels arrived, viz. the ship *Betsey*, Captain Clark, and a brig, her prize, from the coast of Peru; in their voyage from that coast, they touched at the island *Tongataboo*, which was highly gratifying to the Missionaries resident on that island, and a circumstance exhibiting the peculiar interposition of divine providence in their behalf. The natives of these islands, it appeared, had for many months previous been engaged in desolating wars; in which three of the Missionaries were killed, and the survivors reduced to extreme perils. The arrival of these vessels afforded them an opportunity of quitting this scene of devastation, and arriving at Port Jackson; excepting Mr. Veeson, who had conducted himself in such a way as to be separated from the society of his brethren; and, in consequence of his distance from them, and the danger attendant on communicating the information of these arrivals, he was unavoidably left.

The Missionaries reported the following interesting particulars of their calamitous situation, while on that island: also a description of that group, and some of their peculiar manners and customs.

The *Duff* left the Friendly Islands September 6, 1797, when the Missionaries, amounting to nine in number, (one, viz. Mr. Broomhall, having returned in the *Duff* to Otaheite,) were separated under the care of different chiefs: they had experienced considerable alarm from the two sailors, Ambler and Morgan, who

were on the island previous to the arrival of the *Duff*, and the chiefs had assured them before the ship sailed, that they should never be permitted to come near them, or give them the least disturbance; but this afforded the Missionaries a proof of their duplicity, for the first evening these men came to some of them for iron, and afterwards annoyed them in a considerable degree. The chiefs appeared to interest themselves in the safety of the Missionaries; they would not suffer them to go far from home without company to protect them, and appeared satisfied with the presents which were made them.

Early in the year 1798, one of the principal women died; she was the aunt of a chief with whom two of the Missionaries resided, and who had to that time protected them and shown them much kindness. The death of this woman, who had long laboured under a complication of infirmities and diseases, was laid to the charge of the Missionaries, and considered as the effect of their prayers. The nephew of the deceased seriously advised them to desist from their pernicious practice of praying, and expressed his fears that if they did not it would be attended with bad consequences both to him and them, as the people in general were much displeased with him for allowing it. This chief meditated the destruction of the Missionaries under his care, but was prevented from accomplishing his purpose by the principal chief, or king, of the island, who, hearing of this design, removed the Missionaries to his own residence, and thus preserved their lives. He appeared by this conduct to enter-

tain a sincere regard for the Missionaries, but, in the month of July, they were alarmed by a report that most of the chiefs had solicited the principal chief, or king, who had hitherto carried it so friendly to them, to put them all to death, and that he had consented to kill those who were under his protection; but by the intercession of three natives of some consequence, they were again preserved from destruction.

Soon after, the house of one of the Missionaries was entered by ten or twelve men about three in the morning, who, threatening to kill him if he made any noise, ordered him out of doors; and, after stripping off his shirt, gave him a piece of country cloth to wrap round him; they then plundered his house and left him without doing him any personal injury: as the chief under whose care he was had left home the afternoon before, it was suspected he was privy to the outrage. When the principal chief was informed of this circumstance, he desired that the Missionary so treated should be removed to his companions, who were under his protection.

After having frequently been in a state of alarm, in the month of April, 1799, they heard of the death of the principal chief, who was murdered in the night while asleep, by his two cousins, to which barbarous action they were instigated by the dying request of their father. An old chief in the interest of the deceased, sent for one of the Missionaries and desired him to request his brethren to take their fire-arms and accompany him, who was going as commander in chief of those natives who had resolved to avenge the death

of their king. The Missionary refused to comply with the request, and the chief, surprised and irritated in no small degree, finding he was determined not to fight, informed him that he and his brethren must expect no more benefit from his protection, as his attention would be engaged another way, and it would not be in his power to lay the least restraint upon the people; this they imputed to his caprice, but were soon convinced of the contrary, for the same day all subordination was laid aside, and every one acted without control, according to his own savage inclination, and nothing but the most horrid confusion and plunder succeeded. The savage disposition of these people soon appeared; the body of the father of the murderers was dug up and exposed upon a tree, and a native in the interest of the conspirators was taken prisoner by the opposite party, w<sup>h</sup> cut him up alive and eat him raw.

The conspirators seemed to have the greatest number of natives on their side, and as the Missionaries were with the other party, they were exposed to great danger, being shut up in a corner where it is scarcely a mile from shore to shore, and having only the inhabitants of three small districts, without a canoe or any possible way of escape, to oppose almost all the other natives, with a strong reinforcement which the enemy had brought from a neighbouring island. On the tenth of May, the Missionaries accompanied their party to the fight, who attacked the conspirators with great courage, and succeeded in obtaining a victory, and acquiring additional strength by the union of several

chiefs and their people, who at the first engaged against them. On their march they saw an old man roasting a part of one of the dead bodies apparently with a design to eat it, and a little further was the body of a chief, which a fellow was exhibiting as a proof of his prowess, having severed the head from the body; and even some of the women as they passed dipped their hands in the blood and licked them.

The victorious party were highly pleased to find the Missionaries on the march with them, being persuaded that they had fire-arms, and expecting that they would use them: they therefore came in for a share of praise upon every little advantage which was obtained over the enemy; even the dog which one of them led in his hand met with great expressions of kindness; but when it was observed that they took no active part in the business, they became almost as obnoxious as the enemy: thus exposed to danger they determined to return home, and found the place plundered of every thing except their chests. This place did not afford them an asylum long, for, seeing a party from the canoes approaching them, they fled to the back part of the island, which was little frequented, and inaccessible for canoes by a high reef of coral rocks: here they remained the greatest part of the day undiscovered, and finding that the party from which they fled had been driven back to their canoes, they returned to their home; but being exposed to great danger, they retired to the house of a neighbour who professed much kindness,



but who, they were afterwards informed, entertained serious thoughts of murdering them in the night.

Their troubles now increased rapidly, and they were literally in jeopardy of their lives every hour. After a very anxious night they arose about day-break, and at noon were much alarmed by a great number of natives running on all sides of them, and the information that the conspirators were victorious, and that they had killed many of their friends; thinking themselves in great danger from the conquerors, they ran with the crowd for about two miles, when they were met by a party of armed men who demanded their clothes, and as it seemed at the hazard of their lives to refuse, they quietly gave them up, and substituted some country cloth they had with them in their room; finding they were looked at with an evil eye by the natives, they sought a shelter on the beach near to them, which terminated in a ridge of craggy rocks, with a thick wood between them and the country; here they took up their abode; and, reflecting upon their circumstances, though stripped of all their property, they thanked God for the consolations of religion.

In the course of the afternoon they found in a hole of a rock a quantity of fresh water, which afforded them a very seasonable and welcome refreshment, and about sun-set two of them went in search of food, which they much needed, having tasted nothing except the water since the foregoing evening; they soon returned with a bread-fruit and some green

bananas, which were given to them by a company of men they met with at a little distance, who communicated the mournful intelligence that their brethren, viz. Daniel Bowell, James Gaulton, and Samuel Harper, who resided in a different part of the island, had been killed near their own houses the day before. The survivors give the deceased very high characters, and observe that they were young men who possessed, in an eminent degree, every talent necessary to render them useful in their station, and were earnestly concerned to make a diligent improvement for the object of their mission. No satisfactory accounts of their death could ever be obtained; but it appeared that too great a confidence in the good will of the natives had prevented them from taking their flight, as it was reported that one of the chiefs had informed them of their danger, and staid so long entreating them to flee, that it was with some difficulty he escaped himself.

The next day being Sunday, as they were desirous to spend it in quietness, they determined to remain in their solitude; but as their lodging place was close to the road, early in the morning they went further within the rocks, where they found a convenient retirement, and breakfasted on the remainder of their bread-fruit and bananas. The day was spent in prayer and religious conversation: in the morning they conversed upon the fifth verse of the hundred and forty-fifth psalm, and in the afternoon upon the fourth verse of the twenty-sixth chapter of Isaiah. Just as they had finished their afternoon's religious converse,

a man armed with a club and spear rushed close by them; at first he balanced the spear in his hand, and seemed inclined to throw it, but after, they had spoken to him he pretended that one of the chiefs had sent him, and chid them in a friendly manner for remaining there to starve: he said he would go into a neighbouring wood for some cloth he had left there, and return to conduct them to a chief who had always appeared friendly to them; he soon returned, but behaved in a very different manner to what he had before, and desired them again to stay. Suspecting his design was unfriendly, they left the rocks in as cautious a manner as they could, and descended by a road which led to the sea, designing to go to Aheefo, the place where some of them had resided, though they knew not whether it was in the hands of friends or enemies. They had not gone far before they met a company of ten or twelve persons, among whom was a young woman known to one of them, and who advised them to return with her to a place where several of their wounded neighbours had retired, and among the rest one to whom she offered to introduce them, of whose good will they had no reason to form any high opinion: as almost all their friends had been killed in the combat, they accepted her invitation, though with many apprehensions of danger, as the most probable means of safety.

They were continually exposed to the insults of the rabble, and those who appeared kind to them they had good reason to suspect were not sincere; in a few

days they returned to the place where some of them had resided; but the enemy soon after landed, and there being but few left to oppose, the leaders were killed, and the inhabitants fled in the greatest confusion. The Missionaries attempted to join them in their flight, which was refused, till a young man, an acquaintance of one of them, took them under his guidance, and by their desire conducted them to a district governed by a chief named Fackafanooa, who in their prosperity had made great professions of friendship for them, but although he received them with apparent kindness, they soon found he was actuated by a selfish principle, as some property which they buried had been discovered, and expecting there was much more concealed in the same way, he hoped by his friendly behaviour to them to obtain it. When they informed him there was no more property secreted, he seemed greatly disappointed, and desired them to go to Ardeo, the late residence of the three Missionaries who were killed, with some natives to look for things which he was informed were concealed there; with this command they willingly complied, hoping to be able to render the last office of friendship to their deceased brethren, whose remains still lay upon the road exposed to the insults of the savage natives. They found their bodies, but so disfigured that they could not have distinguished them; but the natives who accompanied them pointed them out, and with their help they dug a grave large enough to contain them all, and buried them in it, without either coffin or shroud, not hav-

ing so much as a change of country cloth for their own use.

The conspirator, who was now conqueror, having sent for them, they attended him, and found him surrounded by a number of armed men, which, they were informed, had been his custom ever since he had murdered the late king; he treated them in a friendly manner, and offered them to choose their residence; preferring their situation with Fackafanooa, he consented, and they returned to him.

Frequent instances occurred to show they were obnoxious to those with whom they lived; and attempts were made to prejudice the mind of the chief, by reviving the old story of the bad influence of their prayers, and every opportunity was embraced to afford a pretext to express their dislike; but on the 20th of August three of the brethren and a sailor left by a ship after their settlement upon the island, appeared to be devoted to inevitable destruction. They had made themselves serviceable to the natives in working up iron into tools, knives, &c. for which they were paid in provisions; on this day a great number of people came with work, and provisions to pay for it, among the rest an old woman brought a door hinge with nothing but a piece of kavva to pay for it, which were presented to Fackafanooa, the chief, and received by him with a great deal of complaisance; but wanting something to relish his kavva, he demanded some provisions which the sailor had worked for, and was then carrying into the house. Provoked by so unreasonable a demand, the sailor took some pains to make his

displeasure known, to the surprise of all present: the chief and his attendants went away, but he soon returned with upwards of fifty unarmed men, and desired them to come out: they immediately complied, and were each of them seized by two or three natives, and led out of the yard: on the outside of the gate they saw ten or twelve men armed with spears, who, they supposed, were prepared to put them all to death. Fackafanooa, the chief, seemed much agitated, and when they asked the reason of his conduct, he replied that the sailor was angry with him, and that they should all go to a chief at Aheefo; he then left them and went into the house for a few minutes; when he returned, he commanded silence till he should make known their sentence, and he ordered two of them to go to Aheefo, and the sailor with the other to remain with him. The two who went to Aheefo were apprehensive of some danger on the road, but they arrived safely, and were affectionately received by their brethren, who informed them of a message which the chief from whom they came had received, desiring him to put them all to death, so that their preservation was truly wonderful.

About a fortnight after this separation, the Missionary who remained with the sailor, overheard a conversation in which it was proposed to murder him, and that in the most cruel manner, in the way which is called by the natives loomeeloomee, an inhuman punishment seldom practised but on their prisoners of war, and inflicted by means of a cocoa-nut shell jagged for the purpose, and beaten into the crown of the head

with a club ; he passed the night in the most terrible apprehensions, and in the morning fled to his brethren at Aheefo : they remained in circumstances of great danger, though a few appeared really friendly to them, till the 21st of January, 1800, when two ships, the *Betsey*, Captain Clark, and her prize, opportunely arrived, to save them from their extremity, for in a late gale of wind the fruits had been destroyed, so that they were threatened with famine ; they had also received the most positive assurances that their death was determined on by the chief who had the supreme power over the island ; they had entertained thoughts of quitting the island in their small boat, but being destitute of provisions, and of every material for navigation, they concluded that it would be no better than flying from one death to a worse : they waited, and providence interfered in their behalf and saved them in their extremity.

They all, except Mr. Veeson, obtained a passage in the *Betsey* and her prize to Port Jackson, where Mr. Shelley and Mr. Cooper remained, and Messrs. Kelso, Buchanan, and Wilkinson sailed for England in his majesty's ship the *Reliance*, and arrived safely at Spithead the 1st of September, 1800. Mr. Shelley is settled at Otaheite, and Mr. Cooper sailed from Port Jackson in the *Betsey*, Captain Clark, who is supposed to have foundered off Norfolk Island.

Though the natives of Tongataboo are in general treacherous and savagely cruel, yet the Missionaries met with some friends whose regard for them appeared to be real ; the late king, or principal chief, who had



been murdered, they considered as a friend; but the war which was carried on with the most savage barbarity, and which had not terminated in August, 1804, had swept nearly all of them away, except Atta, the chief with whom they last resided, who accompanied them to the ship; he shed many tears at parting with them, and requested a letter from them for him to present to the Duff, or any ship that might touch at the island, containing assurances of his friendly disposition to them, and clearing him from all blame in the disasters they had experienced; another named Vaarjee, out of respect to the deceased Missionaries, had removed their remains to a convenient place, and had erected a fiatooka over them as a mark of honour and respect: but their expressions of friendship are not to be regarded, for they are as cruel and treacherous to each other as they are to strangers, which the Missionaries had many instances of during their residence on the island.

The cruel and savage disposition of this people has since appeared in two horrid catastrophes, an account of which has been recently received.

The people at Tongataboo are extremely ferocious. An American ship the Duke of Portland, Captain Lovat Melon, touched at that island; and having received a message from a white man named Doyle, requesting his assistance to repel some invaders who had landed from a neighbouring island, sent off his boats, manned for that purpose, under the direction of Mr. Anderson, the second mate. This duty being performed, the boats returned to the ship: soon after which,

the chief of the island, Ducava, went on board to thank the captain for his services, staid all night, and went on shore in the morning. He then sent a message to Captain Melon, desiring him to send his boats next morning, to receive some articles of refreshment for the use of his crew; but the captain, entertaining some suspicion of treachery, declined it, and would not suffer the boats to go. Notwithstanding this order, the chief mate manned and armed the boats; one of which returned with the articles promised, accompanied by Doyle, (the white man,) who, with the natives on board, took the first opportunity to surround the captain, chief mate, and sailors, whom they cruelly murdered, and threw their bodies overboard. Two boys, however, were spared; also a black woman, and Eliza Mosey, a woman who had lived with the captain. Anderson, the second mate, and most of the crew who were on shore with him, were also murdered; but a decrepit white man and two boys were saved. Thus all the crew perished, except one man, four boys, and the two women. But the villain Doyle did not long survive this bloody affair; for taking charge of the vessel, he sent the women on shore, retaining the man and boys to assist him in clearing the ship; which being effected, they seized a convenient opportunity of killing Doyle, and driving the few natives then with them overboard. They then cut the cables, and put out to sea; but what became of them is not known, nothing having been heard of them since. This happened about the first of June, 1802. It is supposed that they have all perished.

Since the above, another melancholy event took place at the same island:—The ship *Union*, from New-York, left Port Jackson in August, 1804, and put into Tongataboo the 30th September following; and finding the natives friendly, Captain Pendleton, the commander, and Mr. J. Boston, late of New South Wales, went on shore with the ship's boat, manned and armed; but not returning for three days, the people on board were extremely anxious for their safety; when the woman before mentioned, Eliza Mosey, (who remained on the island from the Duke of Portland,) appeared at the head of a canoe, and crying out, informed them that the boat's crew were all murdered by the natives. She then leaped into the sea, and swam to the ship; where, being received, she related the cruelties that had been exercised on Captain Pendleton and his men. Upon which the chief mate fired on the natives, cut his cables and made for Port Jackson; where, in nineteen days, he arrived without any further damage. Several of the crew have deposed on oath the above circumstances, and their testimonies agree.

Since these sad events have been known, two American ships have left Port Jackson, fully intending to visit Tongataboo, and revenge the wrongs sustained by their countrymen; but as yet we have not heard of their fate.

Tongataboo, to the westward of Otaheite, is situated at the distance of four hundred and eighty leagues. It is about twenty leagues in circuit, and nearly

triangular in its form. Its northern side is indented by a bay which communicates with an extensive lagoon within the island. The shore in this part is low and sandy; but ascends on the other sides of the island in a perpendicular coral rock, from seven to ten feet above the sea at flood tide, which rises from three feet and a half to four feet and three quarters. The interior is diversified by many gentle rising grounds. The soil is loose and black to a considerable depth, but intermixed with strata of reddish clay: it is chiefly fertile, and in many parts highly cultivated; the plantations, in the midst of which the principal houses are placed, are neatly enclosed with reed fences, about six feet high, and intersected with innumerable roads, which are from six to twelve feet wide. The vegetable productions are similar to those of Otaheite, the cocoa-nut being in greater perfection, the bread-fruit in less, than at the more lofty islands. There are several plants at Tongataboo that were not known at Otaheite; especially shaddocks, and a new species of Jesuits' bark, likely to equal that of Peru in medicinal virtue. It is well furnished with trees, which grow very luxuriantly. Water is somewhat scarce and mostly brackish. There were no dogs before they were supplied by Europeans. Of other animals there are the same kinds as at Otaheite, and several species of birds not common to that island, particularly green paroquets with red feathers on their heads. Some kinds of birds are usually tamed and fed by the inhabitants. There

are also bats in great numbers, and some of such magnitude, that the tips of their wings, when extended, are from three to four feet apart.

Tongataboo is divided into three large districts, viz. Aheefo, at the northwest end; Mooa, the middle district; and Ahoge, situate at the southeast part, each governed by a chief, who reigns with absolute authority, and claims a right of disposal over the lives and property of his own subjects, which is exercised most despotically. These districts are subdivided into many smaller ones, which have each their respective chiefs presiding over them, who exercise the same authority as the superior chiefs, to whom they are nevertheless, in some cases, accountable: so that the whole resembles the ancient feudal system of our ancestors.

The people fully answer to the most favourable representations the world has ever received of them; their bounty and liberality to strangers is very great, and their generosity to one another unequalled. It is no uncommon thing for them to complain they are dying of hunger, and, as soon as they receive a morsel, to divide it among as many as are present, the first receiver generally leaving himself the smallest share, and often none. When they kill a hog, or make any mess for themselves, there is always a portion sent to their friends, who return the favour as soon as their circumstances will admit; which keeps up a constant friendly communication among them, and which has not been seen interrupted by any quarrel during a stay of more than four months.

Their honesty to each other seems unimpeachable, though it appears the accounts of their dishonesty to strangers are not exaggerated. The murder of children, and other horrid practices, which prevail among the Otaheiteans, are unheard of here. Their children are much indulged, and old age honoured and revered. Female chastity is not much esteemed among the lower orders, but lascivious practices are confined to them; for unchastity among females of rank, and especially after marriage, is said to be punished with death.

Their marriages are attended with very little ceremony; and one seen by the Missionaries was conducted in the following manner: A young female having attracted the attention of the bridegroom, he first informed his mother that he wished to add her to the number of his wives. She immediately communicated this to the damsel's father, and the proposal meeting his approbation, he clothed her in a new garment, and with attendants, and such a quantity of baked hogs, yams, yava root, &c. as he could afford, she was sent to her intended spouse, who, being apprized of her coming, seated himself in his house, and received her in the same manner, and with as little emotion as he would have done any other visitor: feasting on the provisions, and a good draught of yava, concluded the whole, and the bride was at liberty either to return to her father till again sent for, or take up her residence with her husband. Polygamy is in common practice among the chiefs, each of whom takes as many wives as he pleases; but they



are entire strangers to domestic broils, which may, in a great degree, be owing to the absolute power each man has over his own family, every woman being so much at her husband's disposal as renders her liable to be discarded on the smallest displeasure.

Their deities are numerous; and there is reason to think their prejudices are strong. Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. The deities of the districts are, on certain occasions, represented by the several chiefs of those districts; so that their natches and other annual exhibitions are not mere public amusements, but religious observances, whereon they think the lives and health of their chiefs, for whom they have great affection, entirely depend; as likewise the prosperity of the country in general: expecting the succeeding crop will be in proportion to the offerings made at these times. They have two natches in the year, one when their yams are set, to procure the favour of Fut-tafaihe; and the other when they gather them in, expressive of their gratitude. The winds they suppose to be under the control of a female called Calla Filatonga, who, they say, is very powerful, but is little regarded by them, and is therefore sometimes provoked to blow down their cocoa-nut, plantain, bread-fruit, and other trees, and commits such ravages as oblige them to bring offerings of hogs, yams, and kavva, in the most humble and submissive manner, to a house sacred to her, where a person is appointed to personate her on the occasion, and receive the



offering. These storms being very unfrequent, and generally over before appeasing measures are taken, the representative is in little danger of being detected of falsehood by returning a favourable answer. This office of personator is only temporary, being always chosen for the occasion.

There is no reason to suppose that there is any such character as a priest among them. In all their offerings each man kills and presents his own sacrifice. Their frequent earthquakes they account for by supposing the island rests upon the shoulders of a very powerful deity called Mowee, who has supported it for such a length of time as exceeds their conception. This heavy burden often exhausts his patience, and then he endeavours to shake it off; which, however, never fails to excite a horrid outcry over the whole country, that lasts for some time after the shock is over: and they sometimes endeavour to quell his discontent, and reduce him to good behaviour, by beating the ground with large sticks. Tongaloer, the god of the sky, and Fenoulonga, of the rain, they suppose to be males; besides these, they have a great many others of both sexes, over earth, sea, and sky; each acting in their proper sphere, and sometimes counteracting one another, according as interest or inclination leads them. They acknowledge the existence of a great number of strange gods, calling them by the general name of Fyga, among whom they rank ours as the greatest; and, when they think it will answer their purpose, they will readily acknowledge him as far wiser, and in every respect better, than theirs, having taught us to

make so much better ships, tools, cloth, &c. than they have ever been able to do. Besides these, they imagine every individual to be under the power and control of a spirit peculiar to himself, which they call *odooa*, who interests himself in all their concerns, but, like *Calla Filatonga*, is little regarded till angry, when they think he inflicts upon them all the deadly disorders to which they are subject; and then, to appease him, the relations and other connexions of the afflicted person, especially if he be a chief, run into all the inhuman practices of cutting off their little fingers, beating their faces, and tabooing themselves from certain kinds of food. Human sacrifices are not much practised, though, at our arrival, we were informed by *Ambler* that when a great chief lay sick they often strangled their women, to the number of three or four at a time. When the *odooa* is inexorable, the death of the person is inevitable and sure, and the surviving friends seem for a short time inconsolable; but their grief is soon changed into the opposite extreme, and they run into as great extravagances in their feasts as when the sorrowful passions prevailed they inflicted on themselves sufferings.

They believe the immortality of the soul, which, at death, they say, is immediately conveyed in a very large fast-sailing canoe to a distant country called *Doobludha*, which they describe as resembling the Mahometan paradise. They call the god of this region of pleasure *Higgolayo*, and esteem him as the greatest and most powerful of all; the rest being no better than servants to him. This doctrine, however,

is wholly confined to the chiefs, for the tooas (or lower order) can give no account whatever; as they reckon the enjoyments of Doobludha above their capacity, so they seem never to think of what may become of them after they have served the purposes of this life.

Though they are more industrious than most of their neighbours scattered about this sea, yet far the greater part of their time is spent in idleness. They express an earnest desire for our woollen cloths, especially blankets; which induces us to think, if they had materials, and the least hint how to make use of them, they would soon endeavour to manufacture them themselves.

Some of their canoes are executed in a style far superior to those of Otaheite, the planks being feather-edged, and lapped over, which prevents the water entering as it continually does into the others. They make less cloth, but more matting, than the Otaheiteans, and it is more neatly and beautifully made: they use it to cover their floors as well as for dress. Their basket work discovers much ingenuity, and they glaze their cloth so as to resist wet. Unlike the natives of Otaheite, they are thankful for what they receive, and express their gratitude by lifting it over their heads.

They observe great cleanliness in cooking, which the Missionaries had an opportunity of discovering in having a mess of hoti prepared at their own house by one of the natives.

Hoti is a dish in great request among the chiefs: it is made by pouring cocoa-nut milk into a wooden bowl,

and scraping out the kernel with a shell; gee root is bruised into the milk, and remains till the latter has derived a delicious sweetness from it; the root is then taken out of the milk, and the kernel mixed with it, which makes a very rich mess.

While the ship remained in the harbour, some of the officers paid a visit to the principal chief, Futtafaihe, who accompanied them to the fiatookas of his ancestors: they lie ranged in a line eastward from his house, among a grove of trees, and are many in number, and of different constructions; some were square, and not raised above the level of the ground; a row of large stones formed the sides, and at each corner two high stones were placed upright at right angles to each other, and in a line with their respective sides: others like that of Moomooe, which is a mount rising with a gentle slope about seven feet, and is one hundred and twenty yards in circumference at the base; upon the top stands a house neatly made, thirty feet long and fifteen wide. The roof is thatched, and the sides and ends left open. In the middle of this house is the grave; the sides, ends, and bottom of which are of coral stone, with a cover of the same; the floor of the house is of small stones: the etooa and other trees grow round the fiatooka. A third sort were built square like the first; the largest of which was at the base one hundred and fifty-six feet by one hundred and forty; it had four steps from the bottom to the top, that ran quite round the pile: one stone composed the height of each step, a part being sunk in the ground; and some of these stones in the wall of the lower im-

mensely large; one, which was measured, was twenty-four feet by twelve, and two feet thick; these, Futtaihe said, were brought in double canoes from the island of Lefooga. They are coral stone, and are hewn into a tolerably good shape, with respect to the straightness of their sides and the flatness of their surfaces. They are now so hardened by the weather, that the great difficulty in breaking a piece off one corner made it not easy to conjecture how the labour of hewing them at first had been effected; as, by the marks of antiquity which some of them bear, they must have been built long before the natives had an iron tool. Besides the trees which grow on the top and sides of most of them, there are the etooa, and a variety of other trees about them; and these, together with the thousands of bats which hang on their branches, contribute to the awful solemnity of those sepulchral mansions of the ancient chiefs. Futtaihe told them that all the fiatookas they had seen were built by his ancestors, who also lay interred in them; and as there appeared no reason to doubt the truth of this, it proves that a supreme power in the government of the island must for many generations have been in the family of the Futtaihes; for though there were many fiatookas in the island, they were not to be compared with these for magnitude, either in the pile or the stones which compose them.

Mooa, where Futtaihe's house stands, is a beautiful place. Proceeding from the lagoon about a quarter of a mile through fenced lanes, a spacious square green about half a furlong wide opens itself: at the

farther end of which the dwelling stands: on the same green, which is as smooth as if rolled, a few large spreading trees grow in an irregular disposition. On the east side is a neat fence enclosing the long grove where the fiatookas stand; on the west are the dwellings of different chiefs in their enclosures; and along the north or lower side of the square the great road runs from one end of the island to the other: this road is in general about six or seven yards wide; but eastward from the green, and for half a mile, it is not less than sixty yards wide. In this part there is a range of trees as large and spreading as the largest English oaks; and as their branches meet at the top, and quite exclude the sun's rays, a pleasant walk is afforded by their shade.

On the 29th of April the Missionaries were informed that Moomooe departed this life about four o'clock in the morning. Many people passed with their faces bruised, and blood running down their cheeks: instead of cloth they wore matting round them, and a twig of the chesnut-tree about their necks; this is their mourning dress. About three o'clock the body of the deceased king was carried past, at a small distance from the beach; it was laid on a kind of bier made of the boughs of trees, and supported by about twenty men; several relatives of the deceased preceded the corpse in their mourning dresses; some of them had cut their heads with sharks' teeth, and the blood was running in streams down their faces. Behind the corpse was a multitude of people of both sexes. A female chief called Fefene Duatonga, who

is very corpulent, was carried on a kind of frame made of two long bamboos, between which she sat on a piece of matting, and was borne by four men. Near her Futtafaihe walked; and next them two women, who were devoted to be strangled at the funeral: one was weeping, but the other appeared little concerned; they were wives of the deceased. The body was deposited for the present in a house near the fiatooka, which was hung round with black cloth, and carried thither for the purpose.

To the left of the tomb, without the enclosure, sat about four hundred people; the major part of them men, for whom yava was brewing. Opposite to these were placed five large roasted hogs, twenty baskets of roasted yams, and about one hundred pieces of mai, (or mahie,) the sour paste. A few paces from the provisions sat seven or eight men, who were tabooed, and exempt from cutting themselves. One of these gave orders concerning the disposal of the hogs, yams and yava; all that drank of the latter were mentioned by name, by a person appointed to that office by Fefene Duatonga, who seemed to have the management of the funeral. They did not forget the Missionaries; but in dealing out the liquor sent them a part, which they gave to the natives that sat by them. Persons of both sexes seated themselves in different parts of the ground, beating their faces dreadfully; and, after having emptied two bowls of yava, dispersed.

The 2d of May was appointed for the funeral of Moomooe, and Mr. Broomhall accompanied Ambler



to observe their ceremonies, and found about four thousand persons sitting round the place where the fiatooka stands. A few minutes after their arrival they heard a great shouting and blowing of conch-shells at a small distance; soon after about a hundred men appeared, armed with clubs and spears, and rushing into the area, began to mangle themselves in a most dreadful manner: many struck their heads violently with their clubs; and repeated the blows, which might be heard thirty or forty yards off, till the blood ran down in streams. Others who had spears, thrust them through their thighs, arms and cheeks, all the while calling on the deceased in a most affecting manner. A native of Feejee, who had been a servant of the deceased, appeared quite frantic; he entered the area with fire in his hand, and having previously oiled his hair, set it on fire, and ran about with it all on flame. When they had satisfied themselves with this torment, they sat down, beat their faces with their fists, and retired. A second party went through the same cruelties; and after them a third entered, shouting and blowing the shells; four of the foremost held stones which they used to knock out their teeth; those who blew the shells cut their heads with them in a shocking manner. A man that had a spear run it through his arm just above the elbow, and with it sticking fast ran about the area for some time. Another, who seemed to be a principal chief, acted as if quite bereft of his senses; he ran to every corner of the area, and at each station beat his head with a club till the blood flowed down his shoulders. Mr.

Broomhall, unable to bear the scene any longer, returned home. At two o'clock in the afternoon four of the Missionaries went to the fiatooka, where the natives of both sexes were still cutting and mangling themselves. They had not been long there before they heard low but expressive sounds of the deepest sorrow and lamentation: this was a party of about one hundred and forty women marching in single file, each bearing a basket of sand; eighty men followed in the same manner, with each two baskets of coral sand, and sung, as they marched, words importing, "This is a blessing to the dead;" and were answered in responses by the women. Another company of women brought a large quantity of cloth, and answered in their turn. These three bands walked towards the tomb, filling or covering that part of the mount between the house and the place where the corpse lay, and the grave, with fine mats and cloth; after which seven men blew conch-shells, while others sung in a doleful strain, expressive of the most heart-felt grief. The corpse was now conveyed to the grave upon a large bale of black cloth, with which, and fine mats, they covered it. The bearers, as they went, walked stooping low, and carrying the bale in their hands. Whilst these services were performing, a company of men and women came into the area, and cut themselves dreadfully. After them another file of females, nineteen in number, brought each a bag of their most valuable articles; and twenty-one more had each a fine mat in their hands, all of which they deposited in the tomb, being, as they call it, a present

for the dead; and immediately after came a present from Toogahowe, consisting of thirty-five bales of cloth, each bale carried by four men on a frame. After the presents another party of mourners entered the area, sixteen of whom had recently cut their little fingers off; these were followed by another party with clubs and spears, who beat themselves as before described, and disfigured their faces with cocoa-nut husks fixed on the knuckles of both hands. We noticed that those who had held offices, or were related to the deceased, were the most cruel to themselves; some of whom thrust two, three, and even four spears into their arms, and so danced round the area, and some broke the ends of the spears in their flesh. The grave was covered with a hewn stone about eight feet long, four broad and one thick: this stone they had suspended with two large ropes, which went round two strong piles drove into the ground at the end of the house, and thence led to the area, where about two hundred men held by them; and whilst they lowered it slowly, women and children wept aloud, or sung words importing, "My father, my father! the best of chiefs," &c. More cloth was then brought to be put into the tomb; and another party entered, and abused themselves as before. After these paroxysms of grief they sat awhile in silence; and when they had pulled the rope clear off the stone which covered the grave, those on the mount gave a great shout, which was answered by a general tearing of the leaves from the necks of all present; after which they dispersed.

Their amusements soon succeeded their violent ex-

pressions of grief, for on the 12th of May a great heiva or mai was performed at the fiatooka of Moo-mooe; first by women in their best garments and finest mats: pieces of our cloth or silk were added as ornaments; the perfumed cocoa-nut oil dropping from their hair. Two drums, and a vocal concert of men sitting round, accompanied the women, who also sung and danced, performing different evolutions in a most graceful manner. An old chief at intervals called out, "fyfogee," or, encore; and sometimes "marea," or, well done.

About a fortnight after this entertainment, the great toomai was performed by men dressed in their finest robes, and mats ornamented with feathers, beads, shells, &c.; the drums called taraffe sounding, accompanied by a chorus of performers singing, and holding in their hands an instrument like a paddle, called doboche, about two feet and a half long, with a short handle; making curious flourishes, with corresponding motions and different attitudes; those around them joining in the chorus. They began in three lines, and shifted by various evolutions, till those in the rear became the front, moving in exact time, and with a graceful step.

While the Missionaries remained upon the island, the great enudee, or natche, described by Cook, was held at Mooa. Men in procession carried a yam suspended on a pole; others, armed with spears, cried aloud to this effect, "Take care to keep the road clear;" and all passengers stood at a considerable distance. Ambler assured them this was a thanksgiving to the odooa for the late ripe yams. They were in-

vited to join the procession, but did not choose to make their shoulders bare, which was required, and to wear the jeejee, a wreath of the leaves of a shrub called jee, around their waist. Particular honour is paid to Futtasaihe on this occasion. The same ceremonies are repeated at the season of early ripe yams. The ceremonial closes with an amusement called fatarga, like cudgel-playing, being single combat with the limbs of the cocoa-nut tree.

In fencing and cultivating their lands, which are in general level, they lay them out in fields or smaller enclosures, called abbeys, and some still less, which surround the houses, called ladores. Their fences are reeds, set in a trench, plaited close, and fastened to stakes on the inside, which take root and grow: they contain banana-trees, or yams, set in rows three feet asunder; between the rows the yava root was cultivated, or the talloo, another esculent root; but the uncultivated parts are very foul, and overgrown with weeds and grass. Their mode of working is to squat down on their hams, and hoe the ground with an instrument of hard wood, about five feet long, narrow, with sharp edges, and pointed; with this also they dig it up.

These people, like the other nations of the South Sea Islands, salute by touching noses, and show respect to their superiors by embracing and kissing of their feet.

## CHAPTER VII.



Mr. Campbell arrives from Calcutta.—Difficulties in adjusting our affairs.—A judicial contest.—The writer is sent to prison.—Makes his escape, and subsequent difficulties.—Brought back to the prison, and finally liberated by the kind interposition of Capt. W. Wilson of the ship *Royal Admiral*.—Capt. Wilson presents the writer with the office of purser, &c. on board his ship.—Description of the colony.—Climate.—Productions.—Colonists.—Natives, &c.

AT length signal was made by hoisting the English ensign on the south head of the harbour for a ship in sight, and was repeated in the town of Sydney; by which the inquisitive disposition of the colonists was much excited to learn of what nation, what news, what commerce, &c. As I was standing on the rocks in company with some of the officers, it was declared by several that it was the *Hunter*, but owing to some variation of the rigging, I differed from their opinion. However, as the vessel neared the harbour, all doubts on this subject were soon removed, by the arrival of the pilot, who gave information that the vessel was the *Hunter*, laden with a general investment for the colony, and that Mr. Campbell was on board. Bustle and

confusion followed the receipt of this intelligence on my part, as the house was not in the most comfortable condition for his reception, and the idea of his being made acquainted with the losses sustained by the robbery, created no small share of perturbation in my mind. An interview was necessary immediately; therefore, having procured a boat, I went on board and was kindly received by Mr. C. and by him introduced to the captain and officers: when these ceremonies were over, Mr. C. and myself withdrew into his cabin, when various interrogatories ensued as to his affairs on shore, the state of the market for East-India produce, &c. respecting which was received the necessary information. It appeared, however, that Mr. C. had received some hints from the pilot about the condition of his affairs; but little notice was taken of them then. Mr. C. communicated his intention of remaining on board until the next day, when he would take possession of his house: this information was gratifying, as further time was thereby afforded to have the house properly cleaned, and put in better order for his accommodation. To effect which the greater part of the afternoon and night was occupied. On the morrow Mr. C. came ashore with the captain, their attendants bringing some of their effects; but, on entering the house, their noses were saluted with the smell of some Spanish liquor which had been accidentally spilled on the floor, and notwithstanding all our washing and scrubbing, the disagreeable smell could not for some days be removed. This accident was unpleasant, as the house, from that circumstance,



was more like a grog-shop than the residence of an East-India merchant.

Mr. C. after having made his situation as comfortable as possible, commenced the sale of the Hunter's cargo; but it did not sell to so great advantage as the first investment. I was now requested to render an account of sales, and of the remaining stock: on making it out (for want of better information) I charged about half of the loss sustained by the robbery to myself, supposing that the commission on the sales would enable me bear it; but the result proved contrary to my expectations. Having deducted 15 per cent. commission on the sales, the account was rendered, when Mr. C. appeared highly offended, and expressed his determination to resist the claim in public court; and I expressed an equal determination to support it. It will be necessary to remark, on the preceding charge, that 15 per cent. may appear exorbitant to many; but when we consider the immense profits arising on the sale of goods in that country, the expense of clothing, provision, &c. and the length of time my employer was absent, as well as the general rate of commission, it will appear that the above charge is only half of what the court before whom this cause was to be decided, had previously allowed; I therefore remained easy as to the result. As a precedent for the propriety of my charge, I may observe that a vessel was freighted to Norfolk Island, the captain of which claimed of the owners of the investment 30 per cent., independent of the freight for the vessel, provisions, and current expenses: the owners

objected to the demand—the dispute was in consequence referred to a judicial contest, when the court allowed the claimant his full demand.

I proposed to Mr. C. to have the subject amicably adjusted by arbitration; but this mode was peremptorily rejected. Accordingly the suit was brought before the court at Sydney, (composed of the judge advocate, and two military officers, but no jurymen,) when, on an investigation, they adjudged me 5 per cent. only, to the great astonishment of every person present. From this court I appealed to the governor, who differed from the decision of the court, by an allowance considerably in my favour. The result of these litigations left me involved in debt, and in the hands of an inexorable creditor, who showed a determined resolution to confine his poor debtor till the utmost farthing was paid. The provost marshal received his warrant to commit me to prison; but rather than deposit me in that dreary abode, he very humanely took me to his own house, where I resided a week as his prisoner. But Mr. C. hearing of my being so comfortably accommodated in the provost marshal's house, instead of the common prison, interposed his influence with the governor to alter my residence, who accordingly ordered me to be confined in the gaol. On my arrival at this habitation I was formally led into a spacious apartment, among the society of convicts, with whom I lived about a week; some of these tenants endeavouring to *console* me under these depressing circumstances, by observing, "*that when I had counted all the stones, bars and*

*bolts of the prison-house, I might then expect to be liberated."* Indeed, there was too much reason to apprehend the correctness of their remarks; for, from the disposition of my creditor, I could not entertain any reasonable expectations of deliverance. Not liking my lodgings and company very well, I solicited the provost marshal to appoint my abode in a more retired part; he recommended me to one of the cells; which I readily accepted. Having taken possession of this deposite for condemned criminals, I found my situation much more comfortable and retired than could well be looked for in a prison; for, having a comfortable bed, chair, table, books, pens, ink, paper, and an abundance of provisions sent by a friend regularly three times a day, made my situation enviable by many of my companions in distress. The door of my cell was opened at sunrise, and locked again at sunset; and frequently, by rewarding my keeper, I obtained the gratification of the door being left open till 9 or 10 o'clock. After a confinement of about three weeks, some merchants (Messrs. Boston, Palmer, and Ellis) purchased a ship called the *Plumo*, which had been taken from the Spaniards, on the coast of Peru, by an English whaler, and brought to this port for adjudication and sale. They informed me that after completely refitting the vessel, they intended to proceed to New Zealand for a cargo of spars, which they designed to ship to the Cape of Good Hope. These gentlemen being fully acquainted with my circumstances, and convinced that I was suffering under the hands of injustice and oppression,

kindly offered me a passage in their ship, provided I could make my escape from prison: pointing out Jarvis's Bay, about 80 miles south, as our place of refuge till the vessel was ready, which would be in about three weeks, when we might expect her. They further observed that as the repeated efforts of my friends towards effecting an accommodation with Mr. C. had proved fruitless, no person could, consistent with the feelings of justice and humanity, censure my conduct. When reflecting on this invitation, and the gloomy prospect of continual imprisonment, I came to the determination of effecting my deliverance, if possible, though many insurmountable difficulties of escaping were presented; for the prison was well guarded, and the whole surrounded by a brick wall, about 12 feet high; but, notwithstanding these obstructions, my thoughts were wholly occupied on the most effectual mode. Sometimes conceiving of the desperation of such an adventure, caused me frequently to halt between two opinions: suppositions also, that the vessel would be detained on my account, or in the event of my succeeding, the vessel might probably miss us on the coast, or leave us in our exile: but amidst the variety of these reflections, I at length came to the resolution to make the bold attempt, and completely succeeded. The circumstance that so favoured my escape was remarkable, which was a tremendous gale of wind, accompanied with incessant rain, occurring the day before, had blown down a considerable portion of the gaol wall, leaving only about 5 feet standing next to the street. This occurrence required an

additional guard of constables; and as I was a debtor of considerable magnitude, and suspected by my creditor and others, of being concerned with the owners of the *Plumo*, in the purchase and fitting out of that ship, a constable was therefore individually set to watch over me. Of this I was privately informed, and was obliged to act very cautiously. But the favoured moment had now arrived; at mid-day some dinner was brought for Doctor Harrold, (one of the respectable gentlemen who were transported from Ireland, when that unhappy country was convulsed and desolated by British troops,) who was confined in the opposite cell, on a charge of treasonable practices. During this visit to the priest, my constable, possessing more curiosity than prudence, was induced to go also; when the favoured opportunity was instantaneously embraced of leaping from the remaining wall into the street. I then ran with the greatest velocity through the town, without the least interruption; though I met several persons who knew of my confinement, and also that I was making my best speed from my gloomy cell, but instead of arresting my progress, they requested me to walk; fearing that my flight would be sooner noticed, and thereby should be stopped. In running I was under the necessity of passing a guard-house, and also a concourse of people who were attending an auction, among whom was the gaoler; but happily neither took the least notice of me. Notwithstanding the previous request to walk and not run, I did not alter my pace, but continued with the greatest perseverance, until I had arrived in

the woods, wherein I was sheltered; I then found it necessary to stop and pant for breath. Having run about two miles from the town, I halted for the night, and took up my lodgings under a rock. About midnight a young man came to me, bringing a blanket and some provisions for my supper, and also for my supply the next day. This person had previously been made acquainted with my place of refuge, and was to attend me to assist in working the boat to Jarvis's Bay, with an elderly man, who had lived with me in the capacity of servant.

After remaining in this situation two days and nights, I was greatly disturbed by a flock of sheep which were wandering towards my rock, and perceiving the shepherd, I was fearful of a discovery: but however this passed safely over. Having had a boat built, about four months previous, I now found it exceedingly valuable: it was open, and nearly twenty feet in length, with a small fore-castle, and conveniently rigged. On the third day the boat arrived at the place appointed for embarkation, which was a small retired spot near the flag-staff, on the south head of the sand beach harbour, laden with provisions, arms, ammunition, fishing tackle, with the two men who had previously volunteered their services, and who were to take passage in the ship. At the moment of embarkation, we were greatly alarmed by the appearance of two of the guards stationed at the flag-staff, who no doubt had heard of my escape, and having discovered the boat, they were led to examine the cause of her coming there: but happily we had just got into the



boat when they were entering the beach, and as they were not armed we proceeded without molestation from Port Jackson towards Botany Bay. The distance between these harbours is 11 miles; and as the weather was calm we were obliged to row the whole distance, which prevented our arrival at Botany Bay till 10 o'clock P. M.; having landed on a fine beach on the south side of the bay in smooth water, we drew the boat ashore, and commenced our camp cooking for the first time, by boiling a piece of pork and some biscuit, which we eat with an excellent appetite. The best accommodation for passing the night was under an old tree which projected over the beach; our bed was the sand, and the covering two blankets: we were much harassed by moschetoës, which obliged us to keep a fire through the night, and in order to drive off these enemies, made as much smoke as possible by an attention to the fire, and supplying it frequently with wet sea weeds. We were here joined by a Mr. Desmond, one of the gentlemen who (for political dissensions) was transported from Ireland, and was also to escape from his exile by the Plumo. Mr. D. came overland from Sydney, and about the break of day hailed us from the opposite shore, where he embarked with us. At sunrise a party of natives having discovered our fire, shortly after made their appearance and gave us some fish, for which we gave them some biscuit; they then peaceably took to their canoes and paddled to the north side of the bay. Their visit was not very agreeable, for, notwithstanding their profession of friendly intercourse, no confidence whatever



can be placed in them; and we well knew that when information reached them of our flight, they would be the first to make a discovery of our hiding places. Therefore, upon consultation, it was deemed advisable to launch the boat at night, and proceed further on the coast southward, which we accordingly did, and arrived at a small inlet where there was an alternate sand and rocky beach, distant from Botany Bay about twelve miles; but owing to the heavy surf breaking, it was thought best to lay at an anchor till the morning. We then cast anchor, and covered ourselves with the sail and blankets, and laid in that situation until the morning, without any other difficulty than the continual rolling of the boat, and the noise occasioned by the seas breaking on the beach. At sunrise we were again discovered by another party of natives, who approached to within about 100 yards of the boat, bringing some fish; but observing that they had their war spears, and suspecting their intentions, thought it good policy to be in readiness to repel an attack, in the event of their discovering any hostile disposition towards us: in consequence of this preparation, the natives discovering our muskets, and not being acquainted with our design in visiting this remote part of their coast, they manifested their fears by immediately retiring. We now took possession of the place, landed our cargo, and hauled our boat over a small beach; on the other side of which was a pond of fresh water, where we sunk her, to prevent her being opened by the heat of the sun: we then carried our sails and stores to an adjoining hill,

where we erected a hut, the mainsail of the boat constituted the roof, laid over an oar, supported by two forked sticks, and enclosed with bushes and grass—the same materials were appropriated to elevate us a little from the damp earth—these, together with the blankets, made a tolerably good bed. Just beside the hut grew a low crooked tree, part of which we cut horizontally, making us thereby a very good bench; being thus comfortably situated, we concluded to abide a few days; and as the natives kept at a distance, we entertained the idea of remaining peaceable and quiet: but on the fourth day after our arrival at this place, we were disturbed by the appearance of some of the natives coming towards us, one of whom having frequently been in the town of Sydney, and could speak a few words of English pretty well, was more bold than the rest, in advancing a little beyond his brethren; when one of my companions went to him unarmed, their timidity was in consequence removed, and, instead of hostilities, a friendly intercourse succeeded. These persons afterwards frequently visited us, when they mostly brought presents of fish, and invited us to accompany them in hunting, which we occasionally attended to with very good success; having sometimes caught six or seven kangaroo in a day. Their mode of hunting is worthy of remark: a number of natives having assembled, they proceed to the appointed ground, where they separate, and station themselves at the distance of about 100 yards from each other, encircling a considerable tract of land. On a certain signal being given, they all make a great

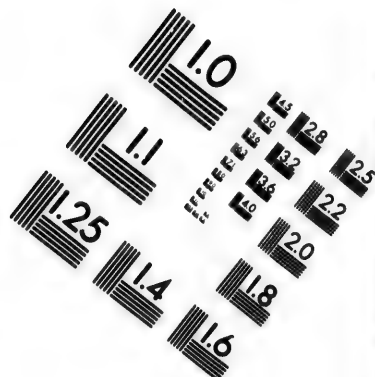
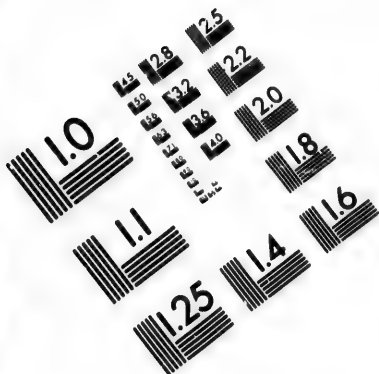
noise with their voices, and beating the bushes; this rouses the kangaroo from their lurking places, and as they are a very timid animal, they soon take to flight; but it is almost impossible for them to evade the vigilance of their pursuers, who being stationed at convenient distances from each other, the beast is soon discovered by its bounding, and the information is in an instant communicated round the circle. The animal then attempts a retreat through the enclosure of the hunters; but he is soon arrested in his progress by a flight of spears, which are almost as certain, and as fatal, at the distance of 100 yards, as a musket shot. Being near the spot where a kangaroo attempted an escape, I could not but greatly admire, and be astonished at, the activity and certainty of the native who stood close by me; for when the animal was first discovered it was making its retreat in a very obscure part of the woods, and could be partly seen only at intervals. But the keen eye of the native embraced the favoured moment; the spear flew like lightning, striking the beast, and instantly stopping its progress; the spear had gone through the animal, and appeared on the other side about a foot and a half. The kangaroo has excited much curiosity with the naturalist. There are several species of them; but differing only in size and colour; their shape is uniform, their head considerably resembles that of a grayhound, very thin foreparts, with two short hands, which are only used in feeding; the hinder parts are large, with a thick tail, and long legs, with which they bound a great distance. Their

colour is generally that of a rat, but the smallest species is much darker. The females have uniformly an external bag on their belly, wherein their young are sheltered from the weather, and from enemies. The method used by the natives in throwing the spear is very simple, but effectual. The spears are generally about eight feet in length, made of a stout kind of reed, and armed at one end with a piece of wood pointed very sharp, and hardened with fire; these parts are firmly secured with a species of gum, which is used by softening it before a fire, but afterwards becomes very hard. In using the spear, they have a throwing stick about three feet in length, with a hook at one end, which is received by the spear; and with the aid of the throwing stick their spears are frequently thrown upwards of 200 yards with considerable exactness. With these weapons they commence destructive wars with each other; they arrest the flight of the swift kangaroo bounding through the woods, and they also frequently kill birds flying through the air.

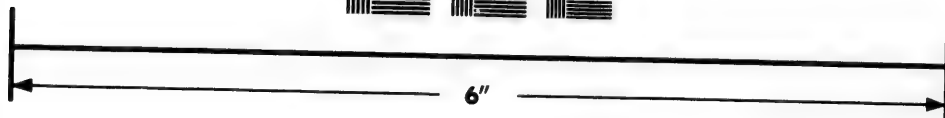
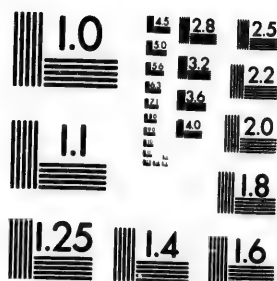
We remained in this place about ten days, occupying our time principally in hunting with the natives, and fishing, by which our stock of provisions was saved, and our situation rendered pretty comfortable. This party of natives, however, having concluded to remove towards the colony, compelled us to remove also, from the same reason which existed at Botany Bay. We accordingly struck our tent, embarked our stores, and proceeded towards Jarvis's Bay; but the wind being too strong, and the seas too high, we could not

with safety reach further than about 12 miles, where we landed upon a beach considerably exposed to the sea; and in attempting to land, a heavy sea following, had nearly overwhelmed us; by which we were under the necessity of leaping out of the boat, in order to steady her, and to prevent her from immediate destruction. With considerable exertion and difficulty we succeeded in bringing her to shore without any material damage, excepting some of our provisions and arms being much wetted. On our arrival here, a party of natives were seen on the beach, who appeared much terrified at our approach, by immediately running into the woods: but shortly after three of them, with diffident steps, came towards us, whose panic seemed in some measure to have subsided; when they discovered our pacific disposition, they beckoned to their brethren, who directly came, and assisted to haul the boat further on the beach; after which they retired, and we saw no more of them. From our last habitation a native boy came with us, who had borrowed a jacket from one of my companions; who, when he landed, also disappeared, taking the jacket with him, from which occurrence, we had reason to suspect that he would proceed towards the colony; when the appearance of the jacket, together with his broken language, would make a disclosure of our refuge. However, we remained here three days notwithstanding these reflections. Towards evening we pitched our tent adjoining marshy ground; here we were dreadfully tormented with moschetoës, being obliged, three or four times in





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the course of the night, to burn these pests to repose; but all attempts to drive them off proved fruitless; for after a burning, others succeeded the attack, apparently in greater numbers; therefore it was necessary to remove to a more elevated part of the coast. We accordingly sailed from hence, and arrived at a small beach adjoining a prominent point of land, where we designed to fix our habitation, and wait the arrival of the ship, the time appointed for her appearance being now nearly expired. This situation was very pleasant, commanding an extensive view of the ocean towards Port Jackson, and also of Jarvis's Bay; it was therefore deemed a proper place for our residence and observation. We therefore secured our boat, and fixed the tent; and occasionally attended to fishing and hunting, but with very little success, owing to the want of experience. Our stock of provision was now reduced very low, which made it necessary to come to short allowance; but the hope of soon seeing the ship supported us in our approaching difficulties. Having been out one day in the woods with my gun, I had the good success to shoot a kangaroo, which I triumphantly brought home, to the great gratification of my comrades, thereby preserving our stock of provision two days longer. At another time being out, I discovered a boat, at the distance of about four miles, standing directly towards us, which no doubt was attracted by the smoke of our fire. Upon this I ran home with all speed to give the information to my companions; who were of opinion that the before-mentioned natives had discovered our

retreat, and that the boat we saw was sent in pursuit of us by the government. We then proceeded to make the best use of our little time, by pulling down our tent and hiding our stores: when this was accomplished, the boat was within about a mile of the shore. We then secreted ourselves in the woods in such a manner as to watch their motions; and having a spy-glass, we could enumerate three white men and two natives, but was not able to recognise any of their features. At length, however, we distinguished two of them to be our particular friends. Shortly after they landed, and informed us that they were sent by our friends, to warn us of our danger; that the natives whom we had previously suspected, had discovered our situation, and that it was necessary we should remove immediately, as a boat was preparing by the government, and was expected to be sent after us in a few days: they also further informed us that the ship was not ready, and not likely to sail in a fortnight; but at that time we might expect her arrival. In the hurry of despatching this information, our friends had forgotten to send a supply of provisions; which, with the prospect before us, threw a damp over our cheering expectations; and we were greatly distressed by the fear of starvation. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick;" but as it was not altogether extinguished, we endeavoured to bear up under the increasing pressure; and by adding sometimes a small pittance of shell fish, with some native cabbages to our little stock of provisions, we were

enabled to preserve life; though death appeared preferable under these abject circumstances.

When our friends had departed, we again launched our boat and proceeded towards Jarvis's Bay; but the moment we had got into the boat, a heavy sea struck her on the bow, which made us very wet, and half filled our boat with water. The wind being very strong, we only reached about ten miles, when we ran the boat on a sand beach, and remained during the night and the next day for the purpose of foraging; but not being acquainted with the savage mode of living, we were not able to procure any provision here. As there were no cabbage trees in this neighbourhood, we were under the necessity of removing further down the coast in search of this tree, as it was the only remaining dependance left for our support. The cabbage tree grows in great abundance in many parts of this coast; they rise generally to the height of from 20 to 40 feet, and in appearance resembling the cocoa-nut tree; the trunk is about 18 inches in diameter. On the top is a collection of young leaves formed into a hard body, composing a substance much like a white heart cabbage, but somewhat smaller than an infant's head; they satisfy for about half an hour, when hunger succeeds with all its rage. The labour in procuring the cabbage is very great, for the tree, which is of a hard substance, must first be cut down, then the outer branches carefully trimmed off before it can be obtained; the outer leaves being armed with thorns. If we succeeded in

getting one in half an hour, it was thought expeditious. We were visited here by a party of about twenty natives, of whom we endeavoured to get some fish, but without success. They appeared friendly disposed, but amidst this profession, they ran off with a horse pistol, which we never saw, or any of the natives afterwards.

This barren, desolate neighbourhood compelled us to make sail for Jarvis's Bay, where we arrived after about eight hours' sailing and rowing. At the mouth of the bay, on the south side, is a small island, where we took up our residence for the night. In the morning we proceeded to examine the produce of this place, when in sailing round, we happily discovered a large field of cabbages, where we procured about twenty, with which we proceeded to the island at the mouth of the bay, there fixing our abode, where we determined to wait the arrival of the Plumo. In our researches upon the island we found two native huts of a conical form, one of which, being about eight feet diameter, afforded us a comfortable habitation. On the second day our cabbages were expended; we were then obliged to return to the field for another supply; but, owing to our extreme weakness, we were not able to cut down more than twelve; and to procure these, the whole day was occupied. While on this dreary expedition, a reviving change occurred: a flock of snipes settled on a reef of rocks just by our boat: one of my companions had the good success to kill eight of them, with part of which we were greatly refreshed; but being obliged to study

economy, a reserve of four was made till the next day. Notwithstanding this good success and excellent fare, I am persuaded that either of us could have devoured double the number at a meal. Four of the snipes only were cooked that day: with the remainder, and the small store of cabbages, we returned to the island; and as we had this stock of fresh provisions, we endeavoured to divert each others minds from the gloom and distress necessarily attendant upon our situation. Sometimes we went a fishing, but generally without success; and shooting, but seldom killed more than a seagull in one or two days, which, with cabbages, we boiled to make soup; but when the gull was divided, about three mouthfuls constituted one share. We had, however, remaining part of the bone of a leg of beef; this we boiled with cabbages five or six times, when, after we had boiled it so many times as to produce no taste in the broth, we divided it into equal parts, and each commenced to devour his portion: our stomachs were pretty good digesters, and not easily turned. The time having now nearly arrived when we believed the ship might be expected, our observations were frequently made; but the more we looked, the more our situation grew distressing. Many hours we sat on the rocks, by the sea coast, when every curling wave of the ocean would appear to strike our imagination as the topgallant-sail of the vessel; but alas, these pleasing observations only increased our misery, whilst the dejecting thought of being left to be forsaken, sunk us in deeper wretchedness and despair. After living in

this inhospitable place about three weeks, we were one day much surprised by observing a party of natives near the mouth of the bay, towing something of immense bulk into the harbour; which, shortly after, we discovered to be a whale; and from its putrid appearance, we supposed that it must have been killed at least three or four months, by the whalers off the coast. The natives intended to secure the prey; but, in consequence of the smallness of their canoes, and the strength of tide against them, their efforts proved fruitless. They were only able to procure a few pieces of the flesh; part of which they threw to us as they were passing our residence, which small supply was peculiarly refreshing; and, notwithstanding its putrescence, it was broiled, and eaten with a delightful relish.

As night was approaching we did not launch our boat, entertaining the hope that the whale would be drifted, and lodged in some part of the bay, as the tide was then setting in: when we might supply ourselves to the full. Accordingly we launched the boat at break of day, and went in search of it, sailing and rowing in every direction the whole of the day, but, to our great sorrow, we could not discover any traces of it. We then judged that it must have floated again to sea in the night tide. In consequence of extreme weakness, we were not able to reach our habitation on the island; we therefore fixed our tent for the night: the distance from the island was about two miles. The next morning a native dog appeared on the beach, about 100 yards from us, when on his



approaching a little nearer, one of my companions discharged his musket, but only wounded him; by which had success our cheering expectations of being satisfied with a boiled, or roasted joint, were disappointed. Our store of cabbages now failed, which made it necessary to embark on another voyage to recruit it; when, in sailing towards the field, we saw a flock of wild ducks, and providentially approached near enough to shoot two of them, by which success we were supported through a hard day's work in procuring cabbages: and were it not for a wild duck, a snipe, or seagull, here and there, we must unquestionably have perished. We were enabled to procure about twenty cabbages this day, with which we returned again to our island. On the passage we were followed by a large shark, whose desires to seize on us were not greater than ours to obtain full possession of him; but unfortunately we had neither hook nor bait. On approaching towards the island, we discovered thirteen natives on the beach where we designed to land, waiting our arrival: they were all armed with spears, and from their appearance we had reason to suspect that their designs were not the most friendly: however, as we had our arms in readiness, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, we proceeded boldly to the shore among them, when, instead of an attack, which we fully expected, they laid down their spears, and assisted to haul our boat on shore. But here, in consequence of these people, commenced more serious difficulties than any we had heretofore sustained; for, the hatchet which was used to procure

the cabbages, and on which we wholly depended for our existence, laid on the forecastle of the boat, very handy for the natives to carry off; one of whom secured it, unobserved, and immediately departed; the others directly followed. As we did not discover the loss until late in the evening, it was thought improbable that the thief could then be effectually pursued, so as to regain the hatchet; and in the event of not obtaining it, the direful alternative was, either voluntarily to yield to death by starvation, or of directly returning to Port Jackson. However, as this was no time for long debate as to the proper mode of procedure, as we were compelled, by the most imperious circumstances, to engage in a desperate adventure; to which we proceeded by break of day the next morning: but the *invaluable hatchet* was for ever gone. In pursuance of our object we went to the place where the natives had fled; on our arrival, we only found an old man, with his wife, and two children, whom we kept prisoners; whom we soon made sensible by signs, of the nature of our visit. The old gentleman endeavoured to justify himself, and informed us that it was gone a great way down the coast. Whereupon he endeavoured to make his escape; but this we prevented, informing him that he must immediately send a messenger after it, and that when the hatchet was returned he would be set at liberty: at this the native became outrageous, vociferating his determination not to interfere. The dispute had now arisen to an alarming height, which shortly brought several large young men from the

hills to his assistance, who manifested a fierce resolution to rescue the old man from his confinement. The deplorable circumstances we were now in rendered a determination on our part to oppose them absolutely necessary. At length they withdrew a small distance to shelter themselves among some trees, when they commenced an engagement by a flight of spears through the branches of the trees that sheltered them; one of which had nearly struck one of my companions who was standing at the distance of about three yards from me: this attack made it necessary to retreat towards our boat, and as they were of far superior numbers, our situation became very dangerous, therefore, the open ground was considered the most preferable position. The first discharge of spears was succeeded by another and more resolute, which rather exasperating us, we came to the resolution making an effort against them, when we ascended a hill with an intention of giving them a few shots; but our opponents were secreted behind trees, and it was some time before we could see any of them. We then halted, knowing that they could be only at a short distance, and not daring to advance too far, fearing that we might be totally cut off; ultimately, however, one of the savages showed his head from behind a tree at the distance of about fifty yards, when, having a gun, (one barrel of which was loaded with duck and the other with swan shot,) I immediately aimed at him, pulling the swan shot barrel, which providentially missed fire, and thereby proved the preservation of the poor Indian, for which I was

thankful, as in the event of my being the instrument of his destruction, would have created the most poignant affliction in my conscience. But, perhaps, as they were the aggressors, first by robbing, and then by a wanton attack, our conduct, we presumed, would have been considered justifiable. Upon consultation as to what we should now do, it was concluded that we should immediately retreat to the boat, which we accordingly did, and arrived at the island in the evening. Having lost the hatchet, we were obliged to proceed direct to Botany Bay with the first favourable breeze, designing on our arrival to send one to Sydney by night, with information to our friends of our wretched condition, and to obtain a supply of provisions and another hatchet. Accordingly, a light breeze from the south having sprung up in our favour, we launched our boat, and proceeded towards the bay; but the wind being very light, and not being able to row, we only reached about twenty miles by noon; and as the breeze had terminated in a calm we were obliged to put into the nearest and most convenient part of the coast, intending there to wait until we were again favoured by the breeze. During our stay here we wandered in different directions in search of something to eat, but for a considerable time without any success. Such now were our necessitous circumstances, that the possession of the most rejected of the animal creation, or a putrid whale, would have been highly gratifying to satisfy our raging demands of hunger. The report of a gun was heard at a short distance, which soon collected us

together, when, to our unspeakable pleasure, one of my companions had shot two old wild ducks and three young ones, in a retired pond at a little distance from the boat, when he triumphantly appeared and laid them at our feet. The joy and satisfaction which was now evident, precluded any dispute as to who should be the servitor, or to the proper mode of cooking them; our greedy expectations were entertained with the pleasurable prospect of a feast. But before we could commence cooking, the southerly wind, which had died away, again sprung up in our favour; therefore, without waiting for our entertainment, we immediately launched our boat, and proceeded towards Botany Bay, in hopes of arriving there in the evening; refreshing ourselves with the idea of eating our supper there, by which the person destined to go overland to Sydney would be strengthened for his journey. We had been only a short time progressing towards our destined port, when the wind began to increase in strength, and ultimately became a severe gale. Our situation had now an alarming appearance, and required great caution and ability to steer the boat; and, notwithstanding the distance before us, (which was about 40 miles,) we were under the necessity of persevering, in consequence of the coast being rocky and bold, with alternate sand beaches, and the seas breaking thereon with great violence. In this dilemma we were obliged to stand before the gale, hoisting all possible sail to keep the boat free from the tremendous following seas, which were continually foaming around us, and threatening our de-

struction. During our sailing three of the oars were washed overboard, and notwithstanding our vigilance, the seas would frequently break into the boat, which rendered bailing continually necessary. My old and faithful servant (Patrick Riley) was so dreadfully frightened, that he laid himself on the bottom of the boat in the bilge water, to prevent his view of the terrific scene; neither could we persuade him to alter his situation. At length, we arrived safe from the ocean, at a small harbour, distant from Botany Bay about nine miles wherein we ran for shelter. In turning the point of land which forms this port is a small sand beach, completely sheltered from the prevailing gale, whereon we intended to land till the storm had subsided; but, to our great astonishment and confusion, the moment we had rounded this point, we discovered a long-boat, belonging to the government, which we had no doubt was sent in search of us: and from seeing no person near the boat, we suspected that the crew was laying in ambush, waiting our arrival; but in order to prevent a surprise, which we had every reason to suspect, we shaped our course up the harbour to the westward, intending to run the boat ashore, to take out the arms, secret ourselves in the woods, and leave the boat to fall into the hands of our pursuers. But, contrary to our plan and determination, the period had now arrived when it was the will of God that we were to be secured and taken back again prisoners to Sydney. For, as we were sailing from our pursuers, we were obliged to haul the boat close upon the wind, which made it

necessary for us all to sit on the windward side, when, in standing north, round a neck of land towards a small beach, in order to run the boat on shore, and being much concerned to evade the pursuit, the sail suddenly shifted; when, in consequence of our being all on one side, the boat immediately capsized, and sunk to the bottom, leaving only about a foot of the mast above the water; but in about two minutes after the mast sunk, and the boat appeared bottom upwards. As old Patrick Riley was not able to swim, this circumstance proved his deliverance from a *watery grave*. One of my companions then swam to the shore to unclothe himself, in order to return and assist the remainder to the shore; another followed his example, and was succeeded by myself, leaving poor Patrick struggling on the bottom of the boat. The first person was successful in reaching the rocks, but the second I shortly passed, observing that he was drowning, and though the distance to the rocks, which I had now to swim, was only about five yards, yet I durst not stop to render him any assistance; in consequence of extreme weakness, and being clothed with thick woollens, it was with exceeding great difficulty I reached the shore myself; and I am persuaded that, if I had two yards further to swim, I must inevitably have sunk. In climbing up the rocks, which were covered with oyster shells, my feet were dreadfully mangled: but notwithstanding this I used the greatest expedition to strip myself, when I proceeded again into the water to bring out the person who was sinking, but before I could get him on



shore he was dead. The person who first reached the shore proceeded to the assistance of the old man, and succeeded in bringing him safe to land. We were immediately under the necessity of leaving the boat, our ducks, and our arms in the water, and our drowned companion on the rocks, when we used our utmost endeavours to retreat into the woods, in order to hide ourselves, as the government boat was now within about a mile in full pursuit of us. The young man who first reached the shore proceeded a short distance and secreted himself under a rock, where he was exposed, in his wet clothes, through the night, to the chilling south wind; but, owing to his reduced condition, he was obliged to surrender himself in the morning. Poor old Patrick, determined to perish rather than be retaken prisoner, succeeded through amazing difficulties in passing to Botany Bay, and arrived safe at a distant settlement, where he was secreted by a friend; and ultimately sailed in the *Plumo*. This affectionate man was transported from Ireland, during the convulsed situation of that country, on account of his political opinions, and having a family there, of whom he often spoke in the most sympathetic terms, it was an additional spur to his endeavours. He was two days and nights afterwards, in this solitary situation, without the least particle of sustenance. When he arrived at Botany Bay there was providentially a fishing boat within hail; Patrick succeeded in bringing the fisherman to his assistance, who kindly relieved his necessities, and rowed him across the bay. But to return again to my own his-

tory : it was observed, that my feet were much cut, which, together with my weak state of body, and fatigue in bringing my dead companion out of the water, prevented my effecting an escape ; for, instead of using any exertion, I was obliged to sit down and wait patiently the arrival of my pursuers. A few minutes brought them in view ; they landed, when one of the men (the constable who had charge of me in the prison) hastened towards the spot, with his musket pointed at me, but the provost marshal, observing the fellow's attitude, immediately drew his sword, when I believe he would have cut the man down had he not desisted from the least appearance of shooting me. The provost marshal then approached, demanding, in an imperious tone, who I was, and what was the nature of my business in this part of the coast ? to which I was scarcely able to reply. I then asked respecting his health, and whether he had any refreshments in their boat ; but the marshal, not being accustomed to such familiar interrogatories from prisoners, rebuked me sharply for my arrogance. From my Robinson Crusoe appearance, having a long beard, an emaciated body, and clothed in only a red flannel shirt, I was not recognised again by him ; though, previous to my escape from the prison, we had lived in habits of friendly intercourse ; and it was some time before he could be persuaded it was his old friend : but when, on recollection, he was convinced of my person, his attendants were immediately ordered to raise the tent, collect firewood, and prepare some provisions. This order was directly attended to, and

shortly after a piece of fat pork with some biscuit was presented for my repast, which precious morsel was devoured with the avidity of the most voracious beast of prey; and were it not for the judicious restraint on my voracity, the abundance with which I was now surrounded would no doubt have terminated in death. The attendants of the marshal were, a corporal of the guards and four soldiers—two constables and four sailors composing the boat's crew, and having provisions for a week: their instructions were to scour the coast from Port Jackson to Jarvis's Bay; but the object of their destination was performed the first day. Some of the soldiers were very kind in equipping me with their spare warm clothing; one lent me a pair of breeches, another a shirt, a jacket and a pair of shoes; which, with the supply of provision, made my situation truly comfortable through the night; and though the rain fell heavy, and the wind continued tempestuous, yet I slept well before a good fire, which the guards frequently supplied; and at intervals I awaked, when I supplied myself again with some more pork and biscuit. My old friend Patrick and the other companion in tribulation would frequently arrest my attention, when I wished they were enjoying the luxuriance which this place afforded; knowing that the great weakness they were labouring under, and which was increased by the exertion in getting ashore and remaining in their wet clothes through a tempestuous night, must make their situation the most abject of all creatures. The marshal informed me that himself and party were as far down the coast as to the

place where we first pitched our tent; when, seating himself on the crooked tree which we had cut horizontal for our accommodation, he observed to his men, "this, no doubt, is the seat on which *Smith* has frequently sat." When not being able to procure any correct information from the natives at this place respecting us, and the gale increasing, he determined to return back to the boat, to wait till the storm had subsided; but on their return (being now at the distance of seven or eight miles from their boat) they discovered our boat on the ocean from the high land on the coast; and from the great rapidity of our sailing, rendered it necessary for them to run hard; fearing that the exigency of our circumstances would compel us to seize their boat, to prevent our being pursued; and as they had left only one man in charge of the boat, the completion of such a project was not only possible, but very probable. He also observed that they trembled in consequence of our dangerous situation; that they could sometimes discover us, and at other times we were apparently lost, and overwhelmed in the ocean, and that they were of opinion we should never arrive safe to land. Morning having now arrived, and the wind considerably abated, preparation was made for proceeding to Port Jackson, and as my boat was raised, it was determined that a part of the crew, with my living and dead companion, should proceed in her to Sydney; while myself, the marshal, and the other part of the crew, should land in Botany Bay, it being a preferable route. On our arrival, the marshal went overland

to Sydney to report his progress to the governor ; and, as it was impossible for me to walk, he designed to send his horse for my accommodation. Arriving at Sydney, my ludicrous appearance excited considerable observation from the colonists, and created no small mortification to my importance. The governor having been informed of my arrival, immediately sent a command for me to appear before him ; (Hunter, the former governor, was succeeded during our absence by the arrival of Governor King from Europe;) but, from my singular appearance, I solicited permission of his excellency the privilege of only half an hour's grace, in order that I might have an opportunity of appearing before him in a different manner. However, my importunity in this instance was not granted, (I presume from the governor's novel disposition,) but was ordered to appear before him instantly, without time to shave, or even to wash myself. On approaching his presence, various interrogatories ensued, as where I had been, what I had been doing, &c. to which I replied according to my ability. After having satisfied the governor's inquiries on several subjects of no great moment, I was dismissed, and left again in the charge of the corporal of the guard, with an order that I should be retained in his house until further commands. In the interim a messenger was sent to apprize Mr. Campbell of my arrival, and to request him to wait on the governor : but before Mr. C. had an opportunity of attending to his request, his excellency, with his aide-de-camp, went to another part of the town, no doubt

intending that Mr. C. should have an opportunity of being affected with my emaciated appearance; which, to a humane mind, was calculated to soften the most obdurate disposition. Shortly after Mr. C. made his appearance; when, finding the governor absent, rage and disappointment were evident in his countenance; notwithstanding, however, he condescended to pay me a visit, but not without manifesting a *small* share of triumph. Soon after this interview, the governor returned, who, finding Mr. C. inexorable, was obliged to remand me to my old habitation, the prison; which I found *very comfortable quarters*. A few days previous to our apprehension, the ship Royal Admiral of 1,200 tons had arrived from England, with transports, and ten Missionaries destined to join the brethren at Otaheite, and the other islands, commanded by Captain W. Wilson, late first officer of the *Duff*, who had, in the *Duff's* voyage, manifested considerable friendship towards me, and which was now more evinced, and increased, as will subsequently appear. Humanity his object, he stepped forth a friend in the time of need, and ultimately, in the hands of God, was my deliverance.

The arrival of Captain Wilson and the Missionaries, and the prospect of a speedy visit from them, was, to me, a very interesting event: a detail of the circumstances which had led to my unpleasant situation would be expected; and as it was reported to them that I had appropriated my employer's property towards the purchase and fitting the Plumo, I had to labour against these prejudices. They were

very inquisitive in investigating this subject; and the interview terminated much to their satisfaction, as they found, from my relation, and which was also amply confirmed by other testimony, that there was no foundation for crediting such reports; perceiving they had originated only in suspicion. They daily visited me in prison, and embraced every opportunity of administering comfort in my necessitous circumstances. Captain Wilson's peculiar situation prevented an immediate visit: he therefore wrote me an affectionate and sympathetic letter; in which he also stated the reports of my being connected with the owners of the Plumo, and which, he observed, I had not yet acknowledged: he recommended me to make an unreserved acknowledgment of every transaction and circumstance that had taken place since my first engagement with Mr. Campbell; concealing nothing, whether debt incurred, money lent, to whom, on what security, and any other thing that related to the matter in question. If any persons had persuaded me to any thing my conscience did not approve, not to spare them, but confess it candidly. If I had been ensnared by any of the owners of the Plumo to advance them money, furnish materials, or in any other way without good security, or by any improper engagement which I might now be ashamed of, to own it openly.

Upon the receipt of this letter, I immediately wrote an answer, informing him of all the transactions which had produced this event, with which he was also satisfied.



Several days had elapsed before I received any further communication from Captain W. In the mean time I solicited and obtained permission of the governor to be removed to Paramatta, (a town about 15 miles from Sydney,) that I might have an opportunity of collecting some small outstanding debts, which had been left in the care of Mr. Hassall (one of the Missionaries) during my absence; but as he was not regularly authorized, he could not succeed. Having obtained the governor's permission, a constable was appointed to take charge of me thither, where, on his arrival, his orders were to deliver me to the charge of the constable of that district, which was accordingly attended to, with the usual form; but shortly after the provost marshal arrived, who gave me the *parole of honour*, with full liberty to go anywhere, and at any time I might think proper, but observing that if I returned to Sydney it would be necessary to report it. This sweet liberty was enjoyed about three weeks without the least interruption or restraint; and no doubt it would have continued a considerable time longer, had not Captain Wilson have written me a letter, requesting my immediate presence on board the Royal Admiral, as my services were wanted to complete the transport accounts. This request was directly obeyed; but on my arrival on board I was much dejected, by the information of the captain's absence to Hawksbury, (a settlement about 40 miles from Sydney,) and that his return was not expected before five or six days. I was therefore obliged to go on shore and report my

return to the marshal; who also reported the same to the governor; but how greatly was I astonished and elated, when, instead of receiving the governor's orders to remand me again to prison, I received his excellency's permission to go anywhere I might be disposed, without any restraint, and endeavour to bring my unpleasant concerns to a close. Here I was again at liberty, to the no small surprise of every person, and continued so for about a week; but a period was at length put to it; for, during my walks in Sydney, I frequently met Mr. Campbell, who no doubt felt much disappointment that his prisoner should be permitted thus to walk at large; whereupon he communicated his intention to the governor, informing him that if it was his excellency's pleasure that I should be set at liberty, he had an undoubted right to demand of him the payment of my debt; and to accomplish it, he was determined to exert his utmost efforts. In consequence of which the provost marshal received the governor's order to remand me again to my strong hold. On coming out of the church on the Sunday afternoon, where the marshal had been some time waiting till the worship was finished, when he showed me the order of commitment, which was immediately obeyed; and instead of taking lodgings in my friend's house as usual, I was consigned again to my cell. On the Thursday following Captain Wilson unexpectedly interfered, by requesting me, in the form of a petition, to state fully the circumstances under which I was labouring, and request the assistance of my friends, which being completed and submitted to his judgment, he

very generously subscribed his name first on the list of subscribers to fifty pounds sterling; it was then presented to the Missionaries, who subscribed thirty pounds; and to the officers of the ship, who added twenty-two pounds. Making the sum total collected on board the Royal Admiral one hundred and two pounds. This was a noble commencement in the employ of begging; and a great encouragement to persevere in well doing; accordingly, the successful petition was handed round to the colonists who cheerfully subscribed as they were able. In two days the whole amount of the deficiency was procured, and paid to my prosecutor, who gave a receipt in full of all demands. This business being thus comfortably accomplished, Captain Wilson, not satisfied with this act of generosity, exerted himself still further in my behalf, by proposing to my acceptance the office of purser on board of his ship, which allowed a salary of twenty-five shillings per month, and in addition to which, he would grant thirty per cent. on the various stores delivered to the ship's company. The proposal did not require any time for consideration, but was immediately and gladly embraced. Such a sudden and unexpected transition, from circumstances the most deplorable and wretched, to the station of purser of an East-Indiaman, must appear as a remarkable interposition of divine providence; and I am persuaded, had it not been for the instrumental and benevolent aid of Captain W., my inexorable prosecutor would long have triumphed over my ruinous situation.

The reader will remember that Mr. Crook was left upon the Marquesas: he suffered considerably from hunger during the first six months of his residence at Christina, which arose from the previous improvidence of the natives; he was kindly treated by the chiefs, who gave him a part of their scanty morsel. About 12 months after the departure of the Duff, an American ship put into Resolution Bay, on board of which Mr. Crook went for the purpose of knowing from whence she came, and to write home; but the wind blowing fresh from the mountains, the ship was unable to work into the harbour, and was carried to leeward. This circumstance prevented the return of Mr. Crook, who requested the captain to carry him to Sir H. Martyn's Island, which lies about 60 miles to the north-west. The captain, who was extremely kind, bore away, and landed him on that spot.

At this place the natives, astonished to hear a white man speak in their own language, received him, though destitute of any thing but what he had on, with the greatest cordiality; and, till he dissuaded them from the extravagant opinion, considered him as a God. The principal chief immediately made him his tayo, and supplied him with a profuse liberality. In a short time he obtained a large piece of ground stocked with bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and the tarro roots, which he enclosed with a bamboo fence, and built a house upon it.

After a residence of seven months upon this island, the ships Euphrates and Butterworth, both South-Sea whalers from London, put in for refreshments, to

whom Mr. Crook was of singular service, as interpreter, as well as in procuring for them a plentiful supply. Despairing of seeing the Duff upon this island, and hoping to reach England before she sailed, that he might accompany the Missionaries to Christina, he availed himself of the opportunity to return in the Butterworth the 19th May, 1799.

Mr. Crook gives a very favourable account of Sir H. Martyn's Island, and represents it as greatly preferable to the other islands for fertility, cultivation, and good usage.

The kinds of fruits found at Otaheite grow there in great plenty. The whole country abounds with fresh-water springs and rivulets, which conduce much to the promotion of vegetation, and give it the preference in this respect to Tongataboo. The higher lands, Mr. Crook thinks, may be made to produce fruits and grain of various kinds, and recommends the culture of rice, of which the natives are very fond, and might be supplied with it in case of a failure in the crops of bread-fruit.

Among these hospitable strangers disorders of any kind are little known, but multitudes are cut off by continual wars; those who fall in battle are generally baked and fed upon as a delicious repast. Mr. Crook laments that though they never could prevail upon him to join in these battles, yet he never had sufficient influence to check them.

Their manners, customs, and religion, vary little from those at Otaheite.

New South Wales, the east coast of New Holland,

extending from  $43^{\circ} 49'$  to  $10^{\circ} 37'$  south lat. being the N. and S. extremities of that vast island. This coast was first explored by Capt. Cook, in 1770; and a design was formed, through his recommendation, to settle a colony of convicts at Botany Bay. Capt. Philips, being appointed governor of the intended settlement, as well as commodore on the voyage, sailed from Portsmouth in May, 1787, with a detachment of marines, and 778 convicts, of which 200 were women. He arrived at Botany Bay in January, 1788; but finding this bay very ineligible for a colony, he fixed upon Port Jackson, about 11 miles from Botany Bay; and here the settlement was first begun, to which he gave the name of Sydney Cove.

The colony was no doubt established here, not in consequence of the fertility of the soil, but the contiguity of the harbour to the ocean; which, doubtless, is one of the finest, and most spacious for anchorage, and also very secure from all winds. The town of Sydney is well laid out; the streets are straight and wide, and the buildings numerous; some of which are well built of bricks and stone; particularly the governor's, which makes a very handsome appearance; it is built of stone, and is about seventy feet in front; before it is an excellent garden. The houses of the officers are of brick; the rest are generally log-houses, plastered; the roofs are either shingled or thatched. Here is also a hospital, and good barracks for the soldiers, with gardens adjoining, but they are not productive, as the soil is very sandy and indifferent; and to this inconvenience must be added the

depredations of numerous rats and thieves. About a mile from the cove are brick-kilns and a pottery, the manufactures of which they would bring to tolerable perfection, were they possessed of the materials used to glaze the earthenware. They have commenced building a place for worship. A few miles from Sydney the soil is very good, and abundantly productive of all kinds of grain and vegetables. Many of the officers at that distance from the town, have handsome houses erected, and their farms are well stocked with all kinds of cattle and poultry.

The settlement at Paramatta is next in magnitude to Sydney, and no doubt, from its numerous advantages, will become one of the most important in the colony. Here are also many good buildings; and considerable manufactories of different kinds are conducted on government account. A detachment of troops is stationed here, as well to preserve good order and regularity among the convicts, as a check upon the natives, who, from the distance to Sydney, might be tempted to molest the settlers. They have little apprehension, however, of an attack from the natives, who have seldom shown an inclination to attack armed men; not that they are destitute of courage, but that they are convinced of the great and invincible superiority of our fire-arms. The attacks generally made by the natives are upon the remote settlements, and single colonists. These aggressions have mostly resulted from the conduct of some of the settlers, who have most wantonly and inhumanly abused the natives. The land in this neighbourhood is gene-



rally good, and very productive; but about five miles west of Paramatta there is a vast tract of the finest land in the world; a considerable portion of it has been allotted to settlers, who no doubt will be amply remunerated for their judicious choice and industry.

Toongabba is a small settlement west of Paramatta, principally settled by convicts, who are wholly employed on account of government, in clearing and cultivating the land; but, from the inferiority of the soil, the labour is not so well repaid as in other parts of the colony. This settlement is appropriated as a place of punishment, for both sexes of convicts who have conducted themselves in a refractory manner; the tasks imposed upon them are greater, and the advantages less. The women have mostly an iron collar placed on their necks, with, some two, and some four, projecting bars; so that they are prevented from reposing in any other way than a sitting posture. This mode of discipline soon brings some of the most obstinate to proper order.

The next, and most fertile of the settlements is Hawksbury, distant about 24 miles from Paramatta, situated on a beautiful river, which empties itself a few miles north of Port Jackson, and is navigable by vessels of about 100 tons, fifty or sixty miles inland. Two men, Williams and Rouse, having squandered away their money, for which they had sold their farms, were permitted with others to form a settlement at this place. They pitched upon a spot desirably situated with respect to the water, and where it did not require much labour to clear the land: they

proceeded with great perseverance, and had a cheering prospect of success. At the end of one month they had cleared several acres, and were in great forwardness with their huts. A report of this good land, and the proffered advantages, was soon circulated; which excited many others to follow the example; so that in a very short time, thousands of acres of neglected land were converted into beautiful plantations; which produced the greatest variety and abundance of all the necessaries of life; and, comparatively, with little labour. There are also several other settlements beautiful for situation, but the limits of this work cannot consistently admit of their being described.

The colony is situated in 33° S. lat.; the climate is without doubt very desirable to live in; the heats of summer seldom rise higher than 84°, and are usually moderated by the cheering sea breezes, which set in early; and in winter the thermometer is seldom lower than 35°; the degree of cold is therefore so slight as to occasion no inconvenience. Hoar frosts and hail, and in some seasons ice about a quarter of an inch thick, have been seen, but snow has never been observed. Thunder storms, in the hot months, are frequent and heavy, but are seldom attended with any serious consequences. In short, the climate is doubtless one of the most happy in the world; the temperature of the air is not only pleasant, but very healthy. Diseases of a putrid nature, with which many countries of the Atlantic world are unhappily visited, are wholly unknown in these remote, but delightful re-

gions. The climate is not only favourable to all the European grains and vegetables, but also to the tropical fruits, which grow in great abundance.

The apportionment of the land to *free settlers*, is 100 acres to a man, 50 to the woman, and 25 to each of their children, in any part they may fix their choice; and as a further encouragement, the services of from two to four convicts is allowed for eighteen months; and both the settlers and their assistants are also supplied with the usual allowance of provisions and clothing, from the colonial stores; together with implements of husbandry, building materials, and stock of different kinds.

Many of the convicts, after the expiration of their term of transportation, have become settlers, and by their industry and good management, have accumulated considerable wealth; and the conduct of some merits attention and respect. Among whom, some notice of the celebrated character George Barrington may not be unacceptable. On his arrival in the colony he was made overseer of a party of convicts at Paramatta, and his business was to report the progress made in the different works carried on there. By his attention to the interests of government, the preservation of order among the men, and suppressing the risings of improper conduct, he was respected by the officers, and feared by the convicts whose dispositions prompted them to a disorderly life. Having acquitted himself with great credit in this station, and his deportment being in every respect satisfactory to the governor, his excellency was pleased to present

him with an absolute pardon, under the great seal of the colony, and appointed him a principal superintendant of the district of Paramatta, with a permanent salary of 50*l.* a year, in which station he conducted himself with integrity; and, by his uniform good conduct, perfectly obliterated every trace of his former indiscretions.

These happy changes in the convicts, however, are comparatively few; while many, it is to be lamented, appear by their conduct to be the most depraved and abandoned of the human race. Corporal punishments, by whipping and other modes, are frequent; and also capital punishments are witnessed.

The desire of liberty reigns predominant in the human breast; many of the convicts have, therefore, at different times, made attempts to effect their escape. Some entertained the novel idea that they could range along the coast till they reached some of the Chinese settlements, subsisting on oysters and other shellfish; having been told that there was a copper coloured tribe, one hundred and fifty miles to the northward, who were much more civilized than the natives they were with, and who trafficked with the Dutch from Timor, where they would be free. With these notions several parties set off from Sydney Cove and Rose Hill, but, after several days straggling, some were taken, and others returned of their own accord, induced by the imperative command of hunger; and as some were still supposed to be lurking in the woods, dreading to return for fear of punishment, the governor, less inclined to punish than

to convince them of their error, promised a general pardon to those who should return within five days; at the same time declaring that an exemplary punishment would be inflicted on every one who should be taken after that period. Accordingly, several returned and were sensible of the lenity shown them; but some appeared capable of the most desperate attempts, and even talked of repelling force by force; they were, however, given to understand that no mercy would be shown them on the least disposition to mutiny. Almost all the deserters returned, and those who were still missing, was supposed to be murdered by the natives; and the miserable state of those that returned would, it was thought, most effectually prevent any more excursions of the like nature. A curious circumstance was related of one of these deserters, who, entertaining himself with the idea of reaching China, had wandered several days in the woods, and on the sea-coast; but, unfortunately, mistaking the course for China, he arrived on the north shore of Sydney Cove; shortly after, seeing one of the officers, simply asked him if he had not seen him in Port Jackson; to which the officer replied that it was probable he had; the conversation respecting the colony was continued till they arrived at Sydney, when the poor man was undeceived respecting his pleasing dream.

Among the classes of convicts, I cannot omit noticing some who were transported from Ireland, who were concerned in promoting the dissensions which unhappily convulsed and desolated that country;

among whom were Dr. Harrold, of the Roman church, Dr. O'Connor, Messrs. M'Carty, Prosser, O'Harra, Sutton, Orr, Desmond, and several others, men of great respectability for their standing in society, as well as their deportment in life. On their arrival in the colony, they were permitted to pursue what occupation they chose, and no business of any kind was imposed on them by the government; whether, from the governor's receiving instructions respecting them in that particular, or relinquishing the government claim, out of respect to their characters, is uncertain.

Also Messrs. Muir, Palmer, Skirring, Jerrald, and Margarot, five gentlemen who had been tried in Scotland for sedition, were convicted and transported to this country. They were each allowed a small neat house and garden, with servants to wait on them.

The country abounds with numberless species of birds: those of the parrot kind appear to be the most numerous; the macaw, cockatoo, lory, green parrot, and paroquets of different species and sizes, which are ornamented with the most gay and luxuriant plumage that can be conceived. The common crow is no stranger here, but is found in considerable numbers: the sound of their voice and manner of croaking is different from those in Europe. Hawks are in great plenty: pigeons, quails, wild ducks, geese, and black swans, and a great variety of small birds.

There is also a very large bird, called the *amew*, but it is not very common; at first they were taken for the ostrich, as they did not fly when pursued, but ran so exceedingly swift that a strong dog could not

overtake them. Its flesh, though not the most tender grained, is far from being unacceptable: it resembles, when raw, neck beef; and a side bone of this bird makes an excellent dinner for half a dozen.

Insects are as numerous, and as different in species, as the birds. The ants are of various sizes and colours, and not only possess superior industry, but a great portion of courage; an insult cannot be offered them with impunity: the most formidable of these are the red-coated tribe; they are from three quarters to an inch in length. Whenever it happens that they are disturbed by any person, or beast, treading on their nests, they commence an attack with immense numbers, with astonishing intrepidity, and continue, for a considerable distance, with all their speed, to pursue their ill-fated and unconscious foe. I was once an innocent offender, standing for a short time in the midst of their nest; they soon convinced me of my error, and were victorious. Their bite, if not venomous, is attended with the most acute pain for some hours. One species of them build their nests against a tree, of the size of a bee-hive: another kind raises mounds of earth, with prodigious industry, to the height of four feet.

Of reptiles, there are snakes of various species, some very small, and some about twelve feet in length, and as thick as a man's leg; but few of them are venomous. Lizards of various kinds and sizes are also numerous.

Plants and flowers of the most variegated kinds and fragrance abound all over the country, which



would doubtless afford an endless variety of pleasing researches to the botanist: as I do not profess to have any knowledge of that interesting science, I am unable to describe their different properties.

The whole face of the country is covered with thick forests of trees of a great variety, and fine timber. The trees are large and spreading, and afford a succession of green leaves in all seasons; there is a tall shrub, bearing an elegant flower, which smells like English May, is peculiarly delightful, and perfumes the air to a great distance. Some of the trees on the shores of Port Jackson grow in a surprising manner, having for their foundation only rocks, and their roots singularly spreading in the crevices: nevertheless, their foliage appears always green and flourishing.

The rocks on the margin of this harbour are mostly of a soft nature, many of which have large perforated holes, formed by nature, which afford residences for the natives, who never think of building huts of any description. The natives are, without exception, the most miserable and savage race of men in the world; both sexes wandering from place to place entirely naked; whose employment and only concern is to catch fish, or kangaroo, to supply their hunger. They have canoes, but they are nothing more than large pieces of bark, about ten feet in length, tied up at both ends with vines; and extended by two pieces of sticks stuck in the sides; but considering the smallness and nature of these vessels, the natives manage them with a surprising degree of activity, and

with boldness venture a considerable distance to sea in them. They frequently strike fish from their canoes with spears, and sometimes catch them with hooks, and with nets. They have frequently been presented with clothes and blankets, with which, for a short time, they have appeared pleased, but have uniformly cast them aside, conceiving them to be only an encumbrance. Notwithstanding their neglect of European clothing and finery, they are fond of adorning their bodies with scars, which are made by an oyster shell with teeth like a saw; sometimes the skin is raised an inch from the flesh, which, with the filth, grease, and ochres, they besmear themselves; and a sort of gum separating their hair in various tails, to which are attached the white teeth of the kangaroo, and the cartilage of the nose being perforated, through which is placed the leg bone of the kangaroo, (humorously called by the sailors their spritsail-yard,) so that by these various modes of what they call ornament, they make themselves appear the most hideous of all creatures. Their natural colour is a deep chocolate. The men in general are destitute of some of the fore teeth, and it is customary for the women to cut off the two first joints of the little finger, which is considered a mark of honour; and, considering the instruments of amputation, it must be attended with great pain. In person, they are vigorous, active, and stout, though generally lean; sickness is scarcely ever known among them. The men display great bravery on the appearance of any danger. Wars are frequent among them, and

are mostly occasioned by private murders; the person who is guilty of the crime is doomed to make retribution by being exposed to the spearing of the relations of their lost companion, while the aggressor's party are only spectators, and to see that no foul spears are thrown; in the event of which both parties commence a general engagement with spear and club; sometimes the death of some of the parties is the consequence, and they are seldom terminated without some being severely wounded.

With regard to their religion I believe no correct information has been obtained; however, it is certain they sing a hymn or song of joy from daybreak till sunrise; but whether they have any particular object to whom they pay adoration is uncertain: neither do any of the celestial bodies seem to occupy more of their attention than the animals which inhabit this extensive country. Yet they do not appear entirely ignorant of a future state, as they say the bones of the dead are in the grave, and their bodies in the clouds. They most certainly burn their dead; for on opening a new made grave, a quantity of white ashes were found, which appeared to have been but lately deposited there; among the ashes were found part of a human jawbone, and a piece of a skull, which had not been sufficiently burnt to prevent its being perfectly ascertained.

Their principal diversion is that of dancing, for which ceremony they prepare themselves with more than ordinary attention; they are all in their birthday suits, like so many Adams and Eves. The

young women employ all their art, in decorating the young men, who are chiefly ornamented with streaks of white, drawn with pipe clay, and in different forms, according to the taste of the man himself, or to the lady who adorns him. They are as emulous of appearing fine as the most finished beau who is desirous of attracting the notice of his favourite mistress. Their paint cannot be applied without moistening, and the lady, in drawing the streaks down the face, which is the most essential part of decoration, spits in the face of her friend whom she is adorning, from time to time, as the ochre or clay gets dry. Their dances are mostly at the close of the day, as they prefer fire-light to that of the sun on these occasions.

There is great variety in their dances; sometimes they dance in pairs, and frequently turn back to back, then suddenly turn and face each other; sometimes they all sit on the ground with their feet under them, and at a particular word or signal they are on their feet in a moment, rising without any assistance from their hands; they then run back in rows, and again advance in the same order. Sometimes they form a circle with some distinguished person in the centre; and at other times all the dancers have green boughs in their hands. One man would frequently single himself out from the rest, and, running round the whole of the performers, deliver in a peculiar tone of voice some expressions; he would then fall in with the rest of the dancers. They exhibit their utmost skill and dexterity in the most difficult contortions of the body, which, in their opinion, constitute

the principal beauties of dancing: one of the most striking is that of placing their feet very wide apart, and by an extraordinary exertion of the muscles of the thighs and legs, move their knees in a trembling and very astonishing manner, such as no person in the colony could any ways imitate. Their music is made with two sticks of hard wood, one of which the musician holds to his breast, in the manner of a violin, and strikes it with the other, in tolerable good time. The performers sing the whole time of the dance, assisted by several boys and girls, who are seated at their feet. They are very prone to flattery, and if any strangers are present always ask for their approbation, and appear highly delighted if you say "*boojerie caribee*," a very good dance, which never fails to produce more than ordinary exertions.

Their mode of making love is the most unaccountable and singular, and would be far from meeting the approbation of our fair countrywomen: the ceremony is always prefaced with a sound beating, and frequently the bones of the ladies are broken, and the blood flows in copious streams, which are inflicted as a matter of course.

A circumstance relating to the colony I cannot omit noticing, which, at the time of its occurrence, was deeply regretted; but ultimately, will doubtless prove much to its advantage. A few years prior to my arrival in the colony, a convict was intrusted with the care of the black cattle (*viz.* four or five cows and a bull) belonging to the governor, but by a strange and unaccountable neglect, permitted them to

stray into the woods. He had been strictly enjoined never to lose sight of them, but he paid little attention; till at last, on his return to the spot where he had left them, he found that they had quitted it; distracted with fear of the punishment that awaited him, he remained in the woods searching for them till he was absolutely perishing with hunger, and was found in a most deplorable condition by one of the parties that had been sent out after him.

After a fruitless search of near a fortnight all hopes of finding them were despaired of, and it was conjectured that they were driven away by the natives: the governor was afterwards confirmed in this idea, as some of them declared that they had seen them killed, and offered to point out the spot where they had deposited the bones: the place they mentioned being at a considerable distance, the governor declined any further search.

A considerable time after this unpleasant event, several contests happening among the natives, had brought many of the distant tribes down to Sydney to be spectators; some of whom, observing the cattle in the colony, said that they had seen many of the same kind in the woods. This intelligence getting to the governor, he ordered a more particular inquiry to be made; and being satisfied as to the truth of the report, and their track being clearly ascertained, his excellency determined to satisfy himself. He accordingly set off with a strong party; having travelled three days in a S. S. W. direction from the settlement at Prospect Hill, he crossed Nepean river,

and, to his great surprise and satisfaction, he fell in with a very fine herd of cattle. The day was too far advanced to make an accurate survey of them; so he halted in a pleasant spot in the vicinity, expecting in the morning to be gratified with a sight of the whole herd. A doubt was started whether they were the progeny of those which had been imported from the Cape; or whether they were not of longer standing; his excellency was therefore determined to satisfy their doubts, and accordingly directed some of the party to endeavour to kill one of the calves. This they were not able to effect; for, while lying in wait to let the herd pass, which now consisted of upwards of four-score, they were furiously attacked by a young bull, which they were obliged to kill in their own defence. This, however, answered the purpose; for, as it was full grown, they had an opportunity of satisfying their doubts respecting their identity as being the cattle which were formerly lost. Being at this time near forty miles from any of the settlements, a very small quantity of the meat could be brought in; the remainder, to the regret of the party, was unavoidably left. The country where they were found grazing was remarkably pleasant, and richly covered with thick luxuriant grass; the trees were thinly scattered, and free from underwood; several large plots were embellished with ponds, covered with black swans and flocks of ducks, the margins of which were beautifully fringed with variegated shrubs, and the ground from these levels rose into hills of gradual and easy descent.



The governor, considering that it was of the greatest consequence to the colony that their numbers should not be diminished, and that, if permitted to continue thus in their wild state, they might hereafter, like the cattle on the Spanish Main, not only prove sufficient for the consumption of the colony, but a source of commerce to the inhabitants, he was therefore determined, as much as in his power, to prevent any of them from being destroyed.

## CHAPTER VIII.



Voyage to New Zealand.—Dreadful storm.—Arrive at the anchorage.—The woodcutting party make preparation for landing.—Find the Plumo in the harbour.—Arrive in the interior.—Visited by the natives, and find them great thieves.—Difficulties with the natives.—Two of the chiefs confined.—An attempt to liberate them.—Differences amicably settled.—Repeated gales of wind, and loss of our long-boat.—The writer unexpectedly meets a large body of the natives.—His consequent fears.—Description of New Zealand.

**T**HE ship's transport accounts and other concerns being finished, we sailed from Port Jackson about the latter end of December, 1800, towards New Zealand, where the captain hoped to obtain a cargo of timber for the China market. The passage from Port Jackson was propitious, accompanied with pleasant weather; nothing having occurred worthy of notice until our arrival at New Zealand. In making the land, we were prevented from coming to an anchor for two days, by contrary winds. At length, however, we succeeded, and came to anchor between the Barrier Islands and the Main, distant from the mouth of the river Thames about twenty leagues, mid-channel,

with calm and pleasant weather through the night. At break of day the breeze sprung up, which shortly after increased to a very strong gale. At about 7 A. M. the seas ran high, and the ship laboured hard; parted the stream cable close to the clinch of the anchor, in consequence of which the best bower was immediately cast to bring the ship up; but at this moment Captain W. coming upon deck, and finding the gale likely to increase rather than subside, and fearing the loss of another anchor, ordered the capstan to be immediately manned to weigh the anchor, and bring the remainder of the parted cable to the bows. About four hours of very hard labour were engaged in this employ. At 9 A. M. got the ship under weigh with close-reefed topsails, with the foresail, mainsail and mizen, endeavouring to ply to windward; but the storm every minute increasing in violence, and the seas in magnitude, the ship fell considerably to leeward, and fast approaching the shore. At 10, the weather increasing harder, wore ship, to keep as near mid-channel between the Barrier Islands and the Main as possible. At 11. it blows still harder; wore ship again on the other tack, as it was impossible to tack to windward. At 12 no sign of the weather breaking, secured the boats and guns, had the hatches and tarpaulins battened; in short, every thing that could be thought of was done to make a snug ship. At about 1 P. M. a complete hurricane; the seas and wind roaring tremendously! the ship's works were now severely tried, and having shipped some water, frequent pumping was necessary.

The carpenters' axes were placed in readiness to cut away the masts, in the event of striking, which was momentarily expected. The carpenters are now employed in cutting away a part of the gunwale to get the sheet-anchor in readiness. At 1-2 past 1 a tremendous crash on the main-topmast; the carpenters were sent to examine what was the matter, who reported that it was considerably split, and that it was not practicable to assist it much. At 2 a most horrible gust, which succeeded in shattering our mainsail into a thousand pieces! another squall equally violent followed, which tore the foresail in the same manner, leaving only bolt-rope, and some small pieces of the fragment of the sails standing. All hands were now employed in clearing the wrecks of the main and foresails, and setting the main-stay-sail. We were fully expecting every moment to see the masts go overboard, as the topmasts were bending like a bow, though with only close-reefed topsails. To attempt a correct description of our perilous situation would be impossible. The sea in one general foam! the wind roaring like awful thunder, the sails and rigging in a wrecked condition, and dismay sat on every countenance! The ship very much pressed, yet doing what she could; shaking her sides, and groaning at every stroke. Ah, New Zealand, land of cannibals and desolation, thou art much in our way; we dread thee. Two quartermasters are now at the helm, narrowly watched by the vigilant captain, whose fears are somewhat increased by the augmentation of the tempest, and the attendant haze, and our

close approach to the dreaded rocks. Captain W. requested me to mount the main shrouds for observation, when there appeared a hideous reef at about 1-2 a mile distant, and the waves breaking tumultuously over it. The horrors of shipwreck were now momentarily expected to be realized; for, in the course we were necessarily standing, no alternative appeared. The skill of the mariner and human invention were now tried to the utmost. Our situation was reduced to a state of desperation! No probability of escaping the dreadful consequences of total wreck, and the more dreadful still of being torn to pieces by cannibals, if even we should arrive safe on shore. But, how gracious and merciful is the Lord of Hosts, who holds the winds in his fist, and the waters in the hollow of his hand, in appearing in this awful period, when we expected immediate destruction! For, in the most critical moment of this memorable day, the wind was suddenly changed a point in our favour, by which we were enabled just to clear the rocks, and at sunset the tempest subsided, and became a calm. The words of the Psalmist in the 107th Psalm, from the 23d to 30th verses, are very descriptive and appropriate to our situation: "They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters, these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. For he commandeth and raiseth the stormy wind which lifteth up the waves thereof. They mount up to the heaven, they go down again to the depths: their soul is melted because of trouble. They reel to and fro,

and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wits end. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses. He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still. Then are they glad because they be quiet, so he bringeth them unto their desired haven." The following day a light breeze springing up, wafted us to the mouth of the river Thames, and at 11 A. M. came to an anchor in 7 fathoms water. The remainder of the day was employed in rigging the long-boat, preparing arms, ammunition, provisions, &c. for the intended object of cutting spars. At 4 P. M. Captain Wilson, the 4th officer, and myself, with about twenty men, embarked for the eastern shore, distant four leagues; but as there were several inhabitants observed on shore, and suspecting their peaceable disposition, and night approaching, the captain thought it imprudent to land that night; we therefore remained at anchor in the boat. At daybreak a canoe came off with four or five natives on board, but not being able to confer with them by language, we had recourse to signs; by which we made them understand the object of our pursuit, who then directed us to sail south a considerable distance up the country, where we should find an abundance of trees of all descriptions, and also that a ship was there. This was a gratifying part of the intelligence, as we had no doubt that it was the Plumo, which had sailed a few days previous to us, for the same object. We accordingly made sail, proceeding agreeably to the report of the natives. We shortly after came in

sight of the Plumo, and in boarding her, to my great pleasure, saw my old friend and companion in distress, Patrick Riley, who was also as much gratified at seeing me. The previous arrival of this ship expedited our business; they having explored a considerable part of the country, and had found a field of fine trees about twenty miles from their vessel, but had made little progress towards cutting timber, owing to a serious accident their ship had sustained in coming into the river, by being driven on a sand-bank, and thereby breaking eight of her larboard timbers; which rendered it necessary that all hands should be employed for a long time to repair their damages. After receiving some refreshment on board we proceeded further up the river towards the field on which our friends were employed, which was easily found by the direction of some natives who had accompanied us in a canoe. Having landed, we carried our stores to the wood side, distant from the landing-place about three fourths of a mile; where we erected two temporary huts made of rafters, of a conical shape, and thatched them with grass; one was designed for the habitation of the captain, the officer, myself, and stores, and the other for the men; but both contiguous, and encircled with a palisado, about seven feet high, to prevent a surprise from the natives, on whose hospitable disposition no confidence can be placed; and as it respects their pilfering inclination, I am of opinion they exceed the Otaheiteans. The first and second days, being engaged in preparing our habitations, nothing was done in cutting trees.



On the third day, the men proceeded to their work; but, from the diameter of the timber, few were leveled. The trees are generally of the spruce kind, running upon an average from 90 to 120 feet in height, very straight, and without a branch. Captain W. was of opinion that its quality was not sufficiently good to be appropriated to the general use of shipping. After having cut down the trees, and squared them for rafting, considerable difficulties were presented, in bringing them out of the woods to the water; for, the timber carriage was rendered useless in consequence of the swampy soil over which the trees were to be drawn: the captain then had recourse to rollers and a road made of slabs, but this also was attended with very discouraging circumstances. At length, we discovered that an axe or a red cloak of flannel, were great inducements to the natives to lend a helping hand; and as we were situated in the district of a powerful chief, (*Houpa*,) by making a bargain with him for axes or cloth, we could at any time command as many natives as were necessary, who would fasten ropes, in their way, to a tree of 100 feet in length, and two or three in diameter, and walk without rollers, and with very little regard, to the river.

The natives, however, were using their exertions to obstruct our progress by pilfering; their acts of depredation were becoming every day more violent and barefaced; for, frequently, when the woodcutters were at work, they have been rushed upon, in the most sudden and unexpected manner, knocked down,

and deprived of their axes; and these violations were so frequent that we had scarcely a sufficient number left for the completing our cargo; therefore, it was necessary that a guard should be placed over the men while at their employ. At another time they succeeded in carrying off the timber carriage unobserved; at another, the cook sent a native, who had been very officious in assisting him, for a kettle of water, but he made off with it, without asking permission. A number of aggressions of a similar nature were committed by them; so that Captain W. was determined, if possible, to put a stop to these proceedings, and also to recover the stolen articles again; in which he effectually succeeded, though the measures adopted were bold and hazardous. Two of the chiefs, being in the men's hut, were secured and kept prisoners, informing them of the consequences should they attempt to escape, and that they might not expect to be liberated until the whole of the stolen articles, which their people had taken, were returned; also, in the event of the articles not being recovered, they would then be carried on board the ship, and detained prisoners until all the things were restored. This determination was communicated to the natives of the district, who, to the number of between eight and nine hundred, assembled by break of day the next morning, all armed with spears and clubs, with a determination of rescuing their chiefs from confinement; they halted at the distance of about fifty yards from our bamboo fort. As our number consisted of only about thirty men, but mostly armed with muskets and cut-

lasses, having also two swivel guns mounted on posts, and surrounded with a fence about seven feet high, the captain resolved to withstand an assault; every man was therefore at his post, with the guns double shotted, in expectation of the dreaded moment. Had they commenced an attack, our little band could not possibly have fired more than one round, which probably might have destroyed many; but then the number of our opponents was so great that we should have been overpowered, and no doubt destroyed without mercy. Their chiefs being in our power might probably have prevented an assault. But providentially, a negotiation was entered into, which stipulated that every article should be restored immediately; that then the chiefs should be liberated, and a friendly intercourse should succeed. With these articles the chiefs complied; when, in the course of an hour, the whole were brought back, and the chiefs accordingly discharged. We some time afterwards resided peaceably among them, and for an axe, or red cloak, they frequently assisted in our laborious work. Having thus completed several rafts, they were despatched to the ship, which was laying at the distance of about 40 miles, and prevented from coming nearer in consequence of shoals; but after very great labour in preparing the rafts, several of them were lost by the swell of the seas in the roadstead, which occasioned the rafts to work and chafe in such a manner as to break the strongest lashing; by which bad success, our time was considerably prolonged beyond what the captain had determined. During our stay here,

the weather was exceedingly boisterous, attended with heavy rains; and the ship laying at such a distance and very much exposed, we had reason to fear her safety. The roadstead being about twenty miles across, the anchorage muddy and mixed with sharp shells, and from the frequent gales, and heavy seas, the cables have been so much damaged by working in the mud, that they have been obliged to cut off from 5 to 8 fathoms at a time. Having been sent one day on board the *Plumo* by Captain W., I was informed that one of our rafts which had broken loose from the boat in a gale had drifted on shore at the mouth of the river. Obtaining a canoe and one man, I immediately went in search of it; but before we arrived to the mouth of the river, a breeze springing up, created too dangerous a swell for a small canoe, thereby compelling us to put on shore at the distance of about two miles from the raft; but fearing the canoe might be lost, I left the man in charge of her, and proceeded overland to the raft myself.

I had not proceeded far, before I was met by a considerable body of natives, and in progressing, saw still greater numbers; so that in the short distance I had to travel, I must have passed not less than from four to five thousand; who, I was informed, were assembled for the purpose of making war upon another tribe, on the opposite shore. They were frightful in their appearance, being singularly dressed in their war habits, and painted in a ludicrous manner; and the whole armed with spears, about fifteen feet in length, and clubs; which to me made them appear very ter-

rific. By their behaviour, I had reason to imagine that the great majority had never seen a European before; for the treatment which I was patiently obliged to bear was very insulting: but though thus roughly handled in going, it was greatly increased in returning; which excited alarming fears that from their savage disposition I momentarily expected to be devoured. However, having arrived at the raft, I found that the timber had been driven so high on the shore that it could not be got off, without much difficulty; but as I was now surrounded by the multitude, who were shouting and yelling in a most hideous manner, and myself trembling like an aspen leaf; I at length endeavoured to divert them by begging a piece of string to measure the length and diameter of the timber, and, by making some marks, and tying knots on the string, arrested their attention so as to create silence, and for a short time, any further abuse. I as it was necessary now to attempt returning, their deportment became more violent and oppressive; some spitting in my face, others throwing sticks and stones, some attempting to throw me down, some to untie my small clothes, and various other modes of insult were used, and in expectation, every moment of receiving my death-blow, made it a very painful ordeal, though not with fire and water, yet with mud, water, and filth in great profusion. Having arrived beyond the different encampments, and an open beach before me, my fears compelled me to the resolution of trying their agility in running; but as soon as I started, they commenced the most hideous yellings and

dreadful noises, and a great majority in full pursuit, like so many hounds after an unprotected and innocent hare; this, together with increasing fears, commanded double exertion; so that I believe I never before, or since, ran so swift. My efforts were crowned with success; for, upon gaining considerably over my pursuers, they shortly after relinquished the chase; which gave me time to breathe and return peaceably to my canoe. The tide having fallen considerably, I was obliged to walk through the mud to embark, which, with the filth I had received from the savages, rendered me, in that plight, not the most desirable companion in the world. And it must be confessed that a little mortification was entertained that I had not an opportunity of chastising their savage insolence, and teaching them better discipline. On returning to the woodcutters, we found the captain and party somewhat disturbed in consequence of a repetition of the thievish disposition of the natives; for, notwithstanding the former example, they persevered in maltreating the men, and securing their axes, which rendered it necessary that the guard should be doubled; "so we laboured in the work: half holding the musket from the rising of the morning till the stars appeared." A serious loss was sustained, when we had nearly completed our cargo, by being deprived of our long-boat. It was alongside the ship at the commencement of a gale of wind, which blowing uncommonly hard, it was absolutely necessary that she should be despatched for shelter to the river; which was accordingly attended to, under the charge of the fourth officer and the



regular crew. But, on approaching near the mouth of the river, night commencing very dark, and the channel being rendered difficult by numerous soft mud banks; the officer was deceived in the soundings, the boat struck, and through the violence of the wind, and heaving seas, which fell right on the bank, she was cast so far thereon, that it was found altogether impracticable to get her off afterwards. This unpleasant circumstance damped our ardour in the accomplishment of our object, and was also a severe trial to me; for as the boat's crew were destitute of provisions, and not having any for three days, it was necessary that an attempt should be made to relieve them; Captain W. therefore requested me to undertake that office. Accordingly I proceeded with eight men in the pinnace with provisions; intending also to effect the deliverance of the boat from the strand; but before the tide would favour our approach, night came on exceedingly dark, accompanied with a smart gale, and constant rain. However, we endeavoured to get as near as possible, to wait till the tide had sufficiently risen; but having grounded when at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, we were shortly after left immoveable in the mud, and in our wet clothes, exposed to the beating rain and piercing wind, till the returning tide; when we were delivered from our uncomfortable situation, without effecting the object of our message. We were thus harassed about a week, in various attempts to get off the boat, but all efforts were ineffectual; and ultimately, we were obliged to abandon her to the natives. In the



last attempt I endeavoured to walk through the mud, and as a precaution, I had previously fastened on my shoes with spunyarn; but had not proceeded more than twenty yards, walking up to my middle at every step, when, finding my strength exhausted by the excessive labour, I was obliged to stand still and call out for help to some friendly natives at a short distance, who directly relieved me from the perilous situation; for as it was impossible for me to move towards either of the boats, I should in all probability have been overwhelmed, had it not been for their assistance.

As the people were engaged in shipping a tree, it was necessary that one should fasten a rope to the end that was in the water, in order to raise it parallel with the orlop deck; but while the man was engaged in this employ, a monstrous large shark arose very near him, and immediately attempted to seize his prey, but providentially the devouring fish was discovered just in time for the man to effect his escape into the boat.

Having at length completed our cargo, by persevering through many difficult circumstances, we sailed from New Zealand about the middle of June, 1801, with a favourable breeze towards the Island Otaheite, though not without considerable regret, on leaving my old friend Patrick Riley and my other friends behind. I interceded with Captain W. in behalf of Riley, that he might take passage in our ship; but, in consequence of his being a convict, and as his majesty's ship the Porpoise was expected to be at Ota-

heite on our arrival, the captain refused the request, supposing that some difficulties might arise therefrom.

New Zealand was first discovered by Tasman, in 1642. He traversed the east coast from lat.  $34^{\circ}$  to  $43^{\circ}$  south, and entered a strait: but being attacked by the natives, soon after he came to an anchor, in the place to which he gave the name of *Murderers' Bay*, he did not go on shore. He called the country *Staten Land*, in honour of the states general, though it has generally been distinguished in our maps and charts by the name of New Zealand. From the time of Tasman, the whole country, except that part of the coast which was seen by him, remained altogether unknown, and was supposed by many to make part of a southern continent, till the year 1770, when it was circumnavigated by Captain Cook; who found it to consist of two large islands, separated by a strait four or five leagues broad, to which he gave his own name. On the west side of this strait, in lat.  $41^{\circ}$  S. *Queen Charlotte's Sound* is situated, which was made a principal place of rendezvous in his subsequent voyages. These islands lie between the latitudes of  $34^{\circ}$  and  $48^{\circ}$  south, and between the longitude of  $166^{\circ}$  and  $180^{\circ}$  east. The winters are milder than in England, and the summers not hotter, though more equally warm.

Among the vegetable productions, the trees claim a principal place. There are forests of vast extent, full of the straightest and largest timber, of various kinds, and no doubt suitable for all descriptions of buildings. One grows as large as an oak, and is dis-

tinguished by a scarlet flower; the wood of this is hard and heavy. The trees we were in quest of are very abundant, and remarkably tall and straight; they are of the spruce kind; and, as it respects their diameter and height, are well calculated for masts and buildings; but their quality for strength and durability is doubtful. The flax-plant is very abundant, and chiefly grows in marshy ground; it is a broad-bladed leaf, of about six feet in height; the fibrous parts constitute the flax; it is very durable and fine in quality, and no doubt cloths of every texture may be manufactured with it. Perhaps in process of time a colony may be established on this island, in the event of which, the culture of this plant, and manufacturing of it into cloths, will become a staple commodity. The natives display great ingenuity in working their garments; they very expeditiously strip the flax of its refuse by a common shell, and it is immediately fit for working. Their mode of manufacturing is ingenious, and the cloth is delightfully soft and regular in its texture. The thread is twisted on the knee, and the cloth curiously knotted with the fingers, and with only the eye to regulate the work. Their clothes, fishing-tackle, canoe-rigging, &c. are made of this plant.

When Captain Cook visited this island, he introduced many of the European vegetables, but they appeared to be wholly neglected, excepting the potato, to the culture of which considerable attention was paid; extensive fields of them were observed; they were very fine, and no doubt greatly improved by the

change of soil. The natives have store-houses for the preservation of the potatoes built in a neat and very secure manner. The stores appeared to be general stock. Potatoes and fish are the common food of the inhabitants, but sometimes they treat themselves with a dog, which, with rats, are apparently the only quadrupeds.

The people are ferocious and cruel, and are uniformly cannibals; wars are therefore frequently made that they may be indulged in the inhuman banquet which is the consequence of victory. Their weapons of war are lances, about 15 feet in length, and darts, and a kind of battle-axes; the latter are generally made of stone, finely polished; and some are made of petrified fish skin; many of their mechanic tools, and ornaments, are also made of this material: (a specimen of their addice has been presented to the American Museum in Chatham-street.)

Their canoes are numerous, and of various sizes, and are mostly made of one solid tree. The labour and perseverance in completing their canoes are great, especially when we view the instruments of their mechanism; which are only a stone addice, and a bone chisel: nevertheless, the work is executed in a neat style, and considerably ornamented. Their war canoes are from eighty to one hundred feet in length, and are capable of carrying from one to two hundred warriors. The mode of hollowing the tree to make a canoe, is by making numerous fires, which, when burnt to a sufficient depth, are extinguished, and the inside is then trimmed by the addice, and polished with a stone.

The men are stout, well made, and fleshy; but not generally so corpulent as the Otaheiteans. They are also vigorous and active, and of quick understanding. The women are smaller, and not so tall as the men; and in the gracefulness of their form, and cleanliness of their persons, the women of the Society Islands far exceed them. The general colour of the New Zealanders is about a shade darker than the Otaheiteans. Both sexes have good features; but their persons are ornamented, or rather disfigured, by the uniform practice of marking on their bodies various figures, which is called tattooing.

Captain Cook, in his first voyage, is said to have introduced the European breed of poultry; and in his second visit had the satisfaction to find them greatly increased, both in a wild and domestic state, beyond all danger of being ever exterminated. In that part of the country where we were situated, (viz. the River Thames,) there was not so much as a feather of European poultry to be observed; the probability, therefore, is, that the brood is either destroyed, or they were left by the captain in some other part of the island, probably Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Their fish are very abundant, and of various kinds, which are not only wholesome, but equally delicious with those in any part of the world. The mode of catching them is principally with neta, which are planted with stakes, similar to the custom used in most of our rivers. The soil, for many miles on each side of the river, is a black rich mould; and yields the inhabitants abundant harvests of potatoes.

As it respects their religion and modes of worship, we had no opportunity of making inquiry; and indeed others, who have visited the New Zealanders, and who have made it their more particular business to investigate these subjects, are left in obscurity. " But it is certain that they acknowledge the influence of superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. One of these islanders appeared to have a much more deep and extensive knowledge of these subjects than any of the other people; and whenever he was disposed to instruct them, which he did sometimes in long discourses, he was sure of a numerous audience, who listened in profound silence, with much reverence and attention.

What homage they pay to the deities could not be learned no place of public worship was visible; but near a plantation of sweet potatoes was seen a small area, of a square figure, surrounded with stones, in the middle of which one of the sharpened stakes which they use as a spade was set up, and upon it was hung a basket of fern-roots, which the natives said was an offering to the gods, by which the owner hoped to render them propitious, and obtain a plentiful crop.

Their manner of disposing of the dead varied in different parts of the island. In the north, they buried them in the ground; in the south, they threw them into the sea. No grave was to be seen in the country, and the inhabitants affect to conceal every thing relating to the dead with a sort of mysterious secrecy. But whatever may be the sepulchre, the

living are themselves the monuments; for scarcely a single person is to be seen of either sex, whose body is not marked by the scars of wounds which have been inflicted, as a testimony of their regret for the loss of a relation or friend.



## CHAPTER IX.



Voyage to Otaheite.—Reception by the natives.—Circumstances of the Missionaries who were left on the island.—Death of Mr. Lewis.—Temaree and several of the natives dreadfully burnt by the explosion of gunpowder.—Discouragements of the Missionaries.—Resume the voyage towards China.—Arrive at the Friendly Islands.—Take off Mr. Veelson, one of the Missionaries.—Circumstances of the Islanders.—See the Island Rotuma.—Thievish disposition of the natives.—Touch at the Hoorn Islands.—Providential escape.—Arrive at the Navigators' Islands.—The captain is robbed of clothes and books.—Several of the natives detained prisoners.—An American visited the ship here.—Sail towards China.—Make the Ladrone Islands, and pass between Saypan and Tinian.—Great numbers of cattle.—Arri at the Barhee Islands.—A storm, and providential escape from shipwreck.—Fleets of Chinese boats.—Anchor near Macao.—A dreadful storm.—Arrive at Whampoa.—Description of Canton, their place of worship, and some other parts of the empire.—An attempt to go into the city of Canton.—Pursued by a party of Chinese.

**AFTER** a pleasant voyage of about three weeks, we arrived safe at the island Otaheite, on the 10th of July, 1801, without experiencing any thing very remarkable. Found the Missionaries well in health; but it

appeared that they had been subjected to many serious difficulties and indignities by the King *Otoo* and his party, and had often suffered the want of the common necessities of life; that they were obliged to uncover their heads, and as low as their breasts, when they passed the king, or his sacred residences, in conformity to the prevailing custom of that island; and that Mr. Lewis, who had separated from the body, shortly after the Missionaries sailed to Port Jackson, had died, but was supposed to have been killed by the natives in order that they might possess his property. Agreeably to our expectations, his majesty's ship the *Porpoise* was at the island, for the purpose of collecting a cargo of pork for the colony at New South Wales. As the Royal Admiral was working into Matavai Bay, she was soon surrounded by innumerable canoes, and the natives gazing with astonishment at the size of the ship; but the moment I was recognised standing on the gangway, the information was directly circulated among them, and succeeded by a universal repetition of *Omitte-á*; the name by which I was known among them. The ship was soon crowded with the natives, who expressed their satisfaction at the return of their friend; but when they saw Captain W. they were peculiarly elated, and welcomed his revisit by an abundant supply of provisions and cloth of every description. The arrival of the Royal Admiral with an additional number of nine Missionaries, was a highly gratifying circumstance to the brethren on the island: also Mr. Shelly, one of the Missionaries who had been driven from

the island Tongataboo, having married a young woman at Port Jackson, had arrived in the Porpoise with his wife, designing to settle at Otaheite. Mr. and Mrs. Henry, with their family, had previously arrived in the ship *Eliza*, Captain Swain; the return of Mrs. Henry was a pleasing event to Mrs. Eyre, as she had been so long on the island without a female companion. Mr. Henry brought from Port Jackson some parrots, pigeons, rabbits, sheep, geese, and Muscovy ducks, with which the natives were highly pleased. The Missionaries gave an account of a war which had broken out shortly after the sailing of the *Nautilus* for Port Jackson, in which they were exposed to great danger: but as three ships were lying in the harbour at the commencement of the war, the captains, and a part of the crews, afforded them protection, and gave the king and his party a decided superiority in the island. Also, that Pomarree had died suddenly in his canoe, as he was going off to a ship in the harbour. Upon the departure of the *Nautilus*, the Missionaries who were left on the island delivered up the public store room, with all it contained, into the hands of Pomarree, and also offered him their private property; he accepted the former, but refused the latter. About five months after the separation, an occurrence happened which excited alarm: Temaree, called also Orepiah, to whose interest Otoo was strongly attached against his father Pomarree, having received some gunpowder from the ships which had lately been at Otaheite, and suspecting it was not good from the large-

ness of the grains, proposed to his attendants to try it; a loaded pistol was unthinkingly fired over the whole quantity received, into which some sparks fell; it blew up, and dreadfully wounded Temaree and five others. A message was immediately sent to Pomarree, who was then in Matavai; he applied instantly to the society for medical aid, when Mr. Broomhall, having as quickly as possible made up a suitable remedy, accompanied by Mr. Harris, went, and found Temaree in a dreadful situation. The medicine was applied with a camel's hair brush, which the chief bore more patiently than was expected; but upon visiting him the next day, they found him covered with a thick paste, which proved to be the scrapings of yams; both he and his wife were very angry with Mr. Broomhall, because of the pain the chief had experienced from the application; saying, that "the Missionaries' God had put a curse into the medicine." Upon inquiry, Mr. B. found that five others had been dreadfully hurt; only two of these would permit him to dress them; and while he was dressing one, the wife of Temaree came, and with an air of contempt, uttered an unintelligible speech, which Mr. B. thought was, "he will kill the other after he has done him," and the man refused to be dressed. Soon after, Mr. B. and his companion, going from the house, met the king, whom he addressed with the usual salutations, which were returned with a fallen countenance without a word, which usually precedes a command to kill the object of his anger. The villains that surrounded him

immediately fixed their eyes upon the two Missionaries, and Otoo laid his hands upon one of their shoulders, and desired one of his men to come to him. Mr. Broomhall and Harris, greatly alarmed, withdrew from these savages, and unexpectedly reached their brethren at Matavai. The cause of Otoo's anger was a persuasion that they had cursed the medicine, that it might kill the greatest man in the island, with whom the king was in league against his father and mother. The issue of this accident was anxiously waited for by the king, queen, Pomarree, Iddeah and Manne Manne. The Missionaries supposed that the death of Temaree would give much secret pleasure to Pomarree and others, who seemed to dread the close union subsisting between Otoo and Temaree. And they observed, that, "though the wheels of political government are not so many as in our native island, yet they are more in number than any would conceive from the rude and barbarous state the nation are in. They have their plots and court intrigues, their parties and partizans, as well here as in England; and they are as important in their way, as in the most refined court 'in Europe.'"

Temaree died in about eight days, and the man who refused to be dressed by Mr. Broomhall; the one who used his remedy recovered, but respecting the other three they had no information. These people make war upon the most trivial occasions, and there is much jealousy of each other in the different chiefs, so that the Missionaries are frequently in a state of alarm. Soon after the death of Temaree, Otoo made

war upon the district of Matavai, because Pomarree's orator had spoken some disrespectful words concerning Temaree's corpse. At the close of the year 1798 Manne Manne was killed by the man with whom Iddeah resides; it was supposed that Pomarree sent to Edea for this purpose, and that Otoo consented to his death. The Missionaries had made several excursions through the island in small parties to preach to the natives, some of whom heard with attention; some asked pertinent questions, and some young men were overheard in conversation, giving a tolerable clear account of the subjects that had been discoursed upon; one boy said, "they sent the Duff last, if they had sent the gospel by the first ship, their feather gods would have been thrown away long ago;" but as yet they see no real benefit accruing from their religious instructions. The number of Missionaries living on the island Otaheite when the Royal Admiral left, was three married men with their wives and children, and eleven single men. The Missionaries who arrived in the Royal Admiral appeared much pleased with the island and its productions. On their disembarkation, they proceeded to prepare themselves suitable apartments, and making other necessary arrangements, in which they were aided by Captain Wilson and a part of the ship's company; which being completed, and the Missionaries comfortably situated, we sailed, about the middle of July, 1801, towards China, the captain intending in the route to explore more fully the different groups of islands in these seas. We passed to the eastward of Eimeo, and arrived off

Heuine in the society group, distant from Otaheite about ninety miles, where we procured a further supply of provisions, which, with the abundance received at Otaheite and other islands, made our number of hogs of different sizes amount to about five hundred, and which afforded our ship's company fresh provisions every day during the whole of the voyage to China. The repetition of fresh pork so frequently caused the men to solicit a change of their daily fare, from fresh to salt. After tarrying two days among these islands, we sailed towards the friendly group, where we arrived after a pleasant passage of about ten days; came to anchor at the island Vavao, where we expected to be supplied abundantly with yams and other roots; but, in consequence of the desolating war which had prevailed among these islanders, every description of provisions was very scarce; in short, the inhabitants were reduced to a state of starvation. These islands, which were once flourishing and fruitful, and the natives strong and healthy, were now reduced to the most abject state of beggary and want; all we could procure here were a few yams, some water, and a few plantain trees to provision our hogs. A supply of these roots would have been very acceptable in our situation, for, upon a survey of the ship's dry provision, the major part of it was found much damaged and destroyed by rats, which had made their way through the casks, and in many formed nests: this rendered it necessary to make an immediate search among the islands for a substitute. As we were departing from the island Vavao, a large



double canoe had just arrived from the Harpae Islands, having on board Mr. Veeson, one of the Missionaries, who sailed in the Duff, and was left on the island Tongataboo when his brethren sailed for Port Jackson: the canoe sailed very swiftly by the ship, intending, as it afterwards appeared, to prevent Veeson from coming on board; however, he jumped overboard and swam to a single canoe which was near, and requested the men to carry him on board the ship, but they also hastened off with him to the shore; which being observed, and reported to Captain W. the pinnace was ordered to be immediately manned, to go in pursuit of the canoe, and if possible to bring Veeson on board: but as the canoe had somewhat the start, it was found a difficult task to come up with her; notwithstanding there were eight stout rowers in the boat, and the canoe having only two. When the boat had arrived within about one hundred yards of the shore, the men in the canoe were just about landing their prisoner, when he jumped overboard and swam to our boat, and informed us that the natives intended to kill him, to prevent his reporting to the captain of their having murdered some of the Missionaries at Tongataboo. When Veeson arrived on board the ship, he was interrogated respecting the state of the islands, the cause of the war, &c. but he appeared to have lost the use of his native language, for to the questions he would answer in the tongue of the islanders. When it was observed to him that he was not understood, he then answered a little in English, but soon left off again, and conversed in the

Tongataboo language; and it was a considerable time after he was on board the ship before he could be corrected. Two days after leaving this island, we arrived at another called *Rotuma*, where we hoped, by bartering with the natives, to procure some yams, &c. On nearing the land about fifty or sixty canoes came off, but scarcely any of them had any provision, and the people were exceedingly careful in parting with what little they had; they would not so much as part with a bread-fruit or cocoa-nut without demanding more than its value. We found it very hard to deal with these people, and only obtained a few yams at an exorbitant rate. During this traffic one of the natives sold a small pig for a knife; but the fellow, having received the knife first, refused afterwards to give up the pig, which being reported to one of the officers he fired a few small shot at him; the poor fellow felt the effects of the discharge, and immediately leaped from the canoe into the water in the greatest confusion, but was soon received into his canoe again by his comrades. This circumstance put an instantaneous period to the traffic; for when the natives were made acquainted with the situation of their countrymen, they immediately paddled off to the shore, and we saw no more of them afterwards. Upon this we shaped our course towards the Hoorn Islands, where we arrived after about eight days' passage: discovered the islands early in the morning at the distance of about one degree; on approaching within about four leagues, several canoes came off, most of which had a small quantity of cloth, plantains, cocoa-

nuts, &c. on board, but their supplies were very scanty, and for them they also demanded extravagant prices. A chief of Tongataboo was on this island; therefore the dearness of their articles was partly attributed to his advice. This chief was known to Mr. Veeson, which was a very providential circumstance, as through him a destructive plot was discovered, which was to cut off the captain and boat's crew who were then on shore; they had just time enough to make their escape to the boat, which was locked between a reef of coral rocks, from which it was impracticable to remove her till the return of tide; but before they could effect their designs, we succeeded in getting the boat into deep water. The women and children were removed, and the men gathering for the attack, and, humanly speaking, the dreadful blow was near at hand. We remained here off and on three days, being principally employed in purchasing roots and vegetables, but with very little success, and much expense. These islands appear to be thickly inhabited, but not so abundantly supplied as at the Society Islands. The natives are darker than the Friendly Islanders, and appear more savage. Having finished our business here we sailed towards the Navigators' Islands, where we arrived after a short but very pleasant passage. Numerous canoes came off, with produce for barter as at the other islands; but these people appeared also to be extortionate. They came on board the ship in great numbers, without the least hesitation; but, becoming rather troublesome, it was necessary to keep a sharp look out after them,

and to order the majority into their canoes again; but before this could be accomplished some of the natives had found their way over the mizen chains into the captain's cabin, and stole a number of his books, a bag of clothes, and several other articles; the whole of which were nearly conveyed into a canoe fastened under the quarter to receive them, before they were discovered. The canoe and thieves were secured, but the books were mostly destroyed in consequence of the canoe's being half filled with water; and of the things stolen only a small part were recovered. The whole of the natives immediately paddled off to the shore, (excepting about a dozen who were detained on board prisoners.) On this occasion a few musket shot were fired after them when at the distance of about three fourths of a mile, upon which they held their paddles to their heads to screen them from the effects of the shot. On approaching another island of the same group, distant about two degrees, a canoe came off having a white person on board who reported himself to be an American, and that he had absconded from a ship which had touched there about three years previous to our arrival; he expressed a wish to embrace this opportunity of returning to his native country, but when the ship veered round to take her departure, he altered his mind, and immediately leaped overboard to the canoe, and paddled on shore; also the prisoners who were brought from the other island were liberated, expressing their surprise that they were not punished according to their deserts. The supply of provisions procured at these islands was

also very small, which was principally attributed to the preceding unpleasant circumstances. Of all the islands in the Pacific Ocean these appeared to be the most beautiful and prolific; the trees and herbage covering them with evergreens, from the lowest lands to the summits of the highest mountains; and the whole forming one of the grandest scenes of nature which I ever beheld. The inhabitants are uniformly strong, healthy, and a handsome race, the general height of whom is about six feet, and well proportioned. The women are generally delicate and beautiful. Their canoes are well constructed, and their houses, and internal policy, apparently exceed any of the islands in this ocean. They are surrounded by a coral reef; but boats may land with great safety; their latitude is  $14^{\circ}$  S., longitude  $169^{\circ}$  W.

Having now finished our foraging pursuits, we sailed in our course towards China, where we expected to arrive in time to join the homeward bound company's ships. After being absent from these islands about a week, three men were scraping the ship's side preparatory to painting, when the board on which they were at work broke in the middle, and let the centre man into the sea; the alarm being immediately given, boards, chairs, hencoop, &c. were thrown to his assistance; he having caught a board, which supported him till he stripped himself, when he committed himself to the sea, and as the ship was thrown in the wind, he swam to her in safety; but from the vast numbers of ferocious sharks, and the distance he had to swim, his return was consi-

dered miraculous. A few days after we made the Ladrone Islands, and passed between Saypan and Tinian; but as the wind was fair we made no stay, though the temptation was very great: the land was covered with luxuriant vegetation, and rising in gentle slopes from the shore to the middle of the islands, intermixed with valleys of an easy descent, which are beautifully diversified with the mutual encroachments of the woods and lawns; and covered with an immense number of cattle, all milk white, excepting their ears, which are either brown or black; also a vast number of fowls, which are said to be easily caught, and plenty of wild hogs. In the woods are prodigious quantities of cocoa-nuts, guavas, cabbage-trees, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and bread-fruit. The climate is healthful, for the rains are not continual, but fall in frequent refreshing showers. There are no streams; but the water of the wells and springs is extremely good. The principal inconvenience opposed to a settlement on these islands arises from the vast numbers of moschetoës and other kinds of flies, besides ticks, which fasten upon the limbs and bodies of men, and bury their heads under the skin. The road is inconvenient, and, in some seasons, there is little security for a ship at anchor. Long. 146° E., lat. 15° N. Shortly after passing these islands, the weather became very unsettled, accompanied with frequent squalls and heavy rain, and the wind varying from the eastward, southward, and southwest, with lightning and dark clouds; the weather continued in this unsettled state till our arrival at the

Barhee Islands. At about 5 o'clock in the morning, having great rippings in the water, and the weather very tempestuous and dark, with heavy rains, one of the islands was discovered just in time to prevent our being dashed to pieces: the providence of God was peculiarly manifest in this deliverance, a heavy squall of wind and rain having passed, leaving a gleam of light to discover our critical situation; and it being the chief officer's watch on deck, he suddenly called out for Captain Wilson, who instantly went up, and ordered the ship to be thrown directly in the wind, thereby intending to edge off. This might have been effected, but for an unhappy circumstance that now occurred, the foretopsail splitting from the bottom to the top; in consequence of which we were obliged to wear the ship round, in order to work from the island on the other tack, which was providentially effected; though, comparatively speaking, we almost grazed the rocks as we passed. Daylight beginning now to dawn, the passage between the Barhee Islands was discovered, through which we got comfortably, and entered into the China Sea; the latitude of this group is  $21^{\circ} 5' N.$ , forming a chain which separates the South from the China Sea. The following morning about eight o'clock, we saw land upon the starboard quarter, bearing about E. N. E. distant six leagues, being part of the island *Formosa*, the wind continuing fair, but a considerable swell from the northward, and heavy rains. The next day the wind died away to a calm, and as the swell of the sea was very great, the ship rolled prodigiously, insomuch that the gun



ports would nearly touch the water, and we were apprehensive of carrying away some of the masts; but the wind again springing up, soon levelled the sea, and enabled us to pursue our course. About two days after, we arrived in sight of the coast of China, and in sailing along passed through several fleets of fishing boats, the people in which appeared scarcely to notice us. The boats appear to be occupied by their respective families, as men, women and children were uniformly observed on board of the numerous vessels. We had no sooner passed one fleet but another was discovered, and so on successively till we anchored at Whamboa. The fleets appear to be stationed separate from each other, and at suitable distances, like towns and villages. Towards sunset we arrived at the Macao Islands, where we received on board a Chinese pilot, who took charge of the ship to pilot her to Macao; but in consequence of the wind dying away, and the tide against us, came to an anchor between two mountainous islands. The elements were calm and serene, but the western sky very fiery, and portending a storm. The next morning the storm commenced, according to the captain's expectations, in the most furious and tremendous manner, the seas soon began to rise. Captain W. ordered the topgallant-masts to be struck, and the yards lowered to the deck, in order to ease the ship. At about 11 A. M. let go the best bower anchor, having hitherto rode with the small bower only. At P. M. the gale increased to a perfect hurricane, when it was necessary to cast the sheet anchor, fearing that the bower cables would

part. Three anchors were now ahead, and notwithstanding this the ship dragged considerably. The seas and wind raged with the greatest violence, and frequently broke over the bows as high as the foretopmast, deluging the decks. The hurricane continued with unremitted vehemence during about forty-eight hours, presenting a most interesting and awful scene. Within about a quarter of a mile astern was an island with a bold and rocky ascent, where we expected momentarily to be cast; but here, as in many other memorable deliverances, gratitude and praise was due to Him "who holds the winds in his fists, and the waters in the hollow of his hands." The Chinese pilot was greatly agitated, and would frequently and wishfully look towards the rocks astern, and the whole of the ship's company were not less disturbed by their gloomy situation. The gale having subsided, we weighed the anchors and proceeded to Macao, where the women, passengers from Port Jackson, were obliged to remain while the ship was accomplishing her lading at Whampoa, the introduction of European women into the Chinese empire being strictly prohibited by the government. The women being sent on shore, we proceeded to Whampoa, where we found eleven of the East-India Company's ships, one of Denmark, and several Americans. The country about Whampoa and Canton is generally level, and but few mountains of any note. Navigable rivers are very numerous and considerable, many of them the works of art and prodigious labour; some are lined with hewn stone, and of suffi-

cient depth to carry vessels of great burden. They are of inestimable value for the inland navigation; they are also assisted by canals in such numbers as are not to be met with in any other country of the world. The various fleets of boats of different sizes, stationed at respective distances, appearing like 20 many islands, is very surprising. Their vessels are made in a very neat and tasteful manner, and are fitted with all the conveniencies of life.

It has been supposed that the empire of China contains as many inhabitants on water as on land. The whole population of China is computed at 200 millions of inhabitants: astonishing as this immense number may appear, it is asserted by competent judges not to be an exaggeration; and if the population at Canton, in the city and on the water, may be admitted as a specimen, the account is by no means incorrect. It appears that the empire extends from north to south 2,000 miles, and 1,500 from east to west, divided into fifteen provinces, which contain 4,402 walled cities, divided into classes; the civil and military; the civil class contains 2,045, and that of the military 2,357. The principal defence of the empire is the great wall which separates China from Tartary, extending more than 1,500 miles in length, and of such thickness that will admit of six horsemen riding abreast upon it. It is flanked with towers, two bow-shots distant from each other; and it is said that a third of the able bodied men in the empire were employed in constructing it. The workmen were ordered, under pain of death, to place the materials so closely, that not the least en-

trance might be afforded for any instrument of iron; and thus the work was constructed with such solidity, that it is still almost entire, though 2,000 years have elapsed since it was erected. During our stay at Canton, we had an opportunity of witnessing their peculiar mode of worship, which appeared to be confined to one immense range of buildings, and a certain number of priests are appointed by the province to officiate for the whole of the people. The priests are considered every way qualified to officiate in religious matters without the people concerning themselves therewith; therefore they seldom interfere, as they place great confidence in the invocations and perseverance of the priesthood. The buildings for the accommodation of the gods and the priests are numerous and extensive, the whole occupying about an acre and a half of ground enclosed. Their gods are also numerous, and by the various emblems which they are represented holding in their hands, as snakes, clubs, stars, &c. together with their countenances, they certainly represent an assemblage of the most furious gods the world can produce. Both the gods and their devices are gilded, and placed in uniform order with their backs to the wall, before whom are long counters, on which are various machinery, bells, books, &c. for the use of the priests, who appeared very devout, and not in the least disconcerted by our visit. This city is enclosed by a wall about twenty-four feet thick, with embrasures on the top. At certain places are stationed guards to prevent Europeans from entering the city, which is not allowed on any

occasion, excepting on special business, and then the person or persons must go in blindfolded. Not being fully acquainted with this requisition, I with the purser and another officer of one of the company's ships attempted an entrance into the city, and having passed unnoticed by the guard, who was an old man, and in conversation with another person, we proceeded to the gates; but, on entering, a party of Chinese rushed forth with staves and other weapons, no doubt intending to secure us prisoners; but as their shoes are the most awkward and clumsy, having thick wooden soles and no spring, prevented their running fast, we easily effected our escape; though not without considerable perturbation from the reflection of our temerity. At another time my situation was rendered critical owing to my being in company with some officers on the factory parade, who were engaged in discharging rockets and other fireworks; when, one of the rockets being somewhat damaged, they were obliged to let it off in a horizontal position, which took a direction to a Chinese fruit-stall, which it struck and put out the lights; notwithstanding its being an accidental affair, several stout men sallied forth with clubs, one of whom struck me violently on the loins by which I suffered severely for several days. The factory of Canton is a magnificent and spacious building, with several avenues; before it are placed flag-staffs on which are hoisted the banners of the different nations engaged in commerce with China. The buildings of Canton are generally low, consisting of one story and a ground floor, mostly built of wood,

and covered with earth and red tiles to keep them cool; but those of the most respectable merchants and mandarins, are higher and adorned with various ornaments. The streets are long and narrow, and mostly irregular; they are paved with small flint stones, and at intervals there are triumphal arches which have a pleasing effect. China-street is the most spacious, being about thirty feet wide, and paved with flag-stones. Many of the principal merchants reside in this street. In Canton there are no carriages or horses. The rich people are carried about in sedan chairs, but the poor walk barefooted and bareheaded; and their goods are carried by porters. At the ends of the streets are barriers, which are shut every evening, as well as the gates of the city, so that people are obliged to be at home early.

The timber brought from New Zealand did not produce more than half the contemplated profit; whether from the quantity the country produces, or the quality of the New Zealand timber, was not exactly known: it ought however to have brought a good price, as it was procured at a dear rate, and through much hazard and anxiety.

## CHAPTER X.



Sail from China.—Hailed by a British frigate.—Several of the men pressed.—Arrive at the Straits of Macassar.—Anchor in the Java Sea.—The fleet lose several of their anchors. Discover, and pass through the Straits of Sunda.—A calm of about two weeks.—A large shark caught.—A breeze.—Part company from the fleet.—Arrive at the Cape of Good Hope.—A vessel upset in a violent squall.—Description of the Cape of Good Hope.—A gale of wind.—Departure from the Cape, and arrival at St. Helena.—Description of the island.—The voyage resumed, and arrival in England.

**THE** fleet of company's ships having completed their lading, and received their despatches, we sailed from China about the latter end of January, 1802, towards St. Helena. In passing Macao, a British frigate was at anchor, which fired several guns to bring the fleet to, but our commodore making signal to the fleet to proceed on its course, no further notice was taken of the frigate: but the next morning at about seven, she was observed in chase, and at noon came up with the fleet, and hailed the commodore, who ordered the fleet to lay to; when the frigate was supplied with as many men as she stood in need of; some of whom were pressed, and others entered volunteers.



Shortly after she altered her course, and was soon out of sight. The sailing order of the fleet was in two lines; but as the Royal Admiral was an extra ship, she was stationed on the larboard of the lines, to officiate as a look-out and repeating-ship. In consequence of two or three bad sailing vessels, particularly the *Admiral Gardner*, the progress of the fleet was much retarded.

Arriving at the Straits of Maccassar, one of the fleet (the *Hindustan*) was despatched ahead to observe if any enemies' ships were there; but the coast being clear, we passed through the straits, and the next night anchored in the Java Sea, in about twenty-five fathoms water. The wind arose in the night to a smart gale, raising a heavy sea, by which means several of the fleet parted their cables and lost their anchors. At daybreak weighed anchor, and proceeded towards the Straits of Sunda; at noon discovered the straits, and at 4 P. M. the fleet had comfortably passed through; but the next day the wind died away to a complete calm, which continued for several days without a breath of air, and being under the burning sun, our situation was very disagreeable: and sometimes the seas ran very high, occasioned by distant gales, causing the ships to roll very heavy, and they were frequently thrown by the heaving of the seas so near to each other that it was necessary to tow them apart by the boats. While laying here a monstrous shark appeared under our stern at sunrise, upon which I baited a hook with a piece of pork and threw it overboard; but the shark, either

not hungry, or impressed with danger, refused the bait : the temptation was presented the whole of the day, but the fish continued swimming round the ship, and would sometimes smell the bait, seemingly in a careless manner; however, at sunset it was differently disposed, when it seized the prey, and was brought on board. It was almost nine feet in length, and upon opening her, seven young ones were found, about eighteen inches in length. A considerable time after the head was cut off it looked very furious, and occasionally opened its mouth, when a piece of pine wood was introduced, and in a moment the jaws were closed, burying the teeth in the wood to the gums.

The cheering breezes which had so long left us again resumed their pleasing influence; and the fleet, which had for many days been in a state of confusion, was thereby brought into order. We now pursued our course towards the Cape of Good Hope, where it was designed that the Royal Admiral only should touch, she having an investment shipped by the East-India Company for that place. Nothing of importance having occurred from the time of leaving the Straits of Sunda, till our leaving the fleet, and arrival at the Cape, when the harbour-master, doctor, and their attendants, came on board, to examine the health of the crew, which was generally good. The requisitions of the quarantine laws were not enforced. The captain took lodgings at the house of Mrs. V. S., where Admiral Curtis and several officers of the navy boarded; and in consequence of indisposition, the captain indulged me with board at the same house,

so that I might have an opportunity of ranging the fields for the benefit of my health. There were several of his majesty's ships in Table Bay, and some merchantmen. One day a boat was sailing from the bay to another part of the coast, when a violent squall of wind overtook her and upset the vessel, in consequence of her anchor being over the main hatchway; all efforts by the people on board to prevent her filling were fruitless; but as her cargo was principally casks and goods of a buoyant nature, she was prevented from sinking. The situation of their distressed circumstances being discovered by the king's ships in the bay, though at a great distance, and the wind blowing very hard, with a heavy sea running, the boats from some of the ships put off comparatively with the swiftness of lightning to their assistance. Beyond human expectations, they succeeded in not only saving the men from drowning, but also recovered the vessel; which being brought alongside one of the ships, and completely cleared, was gratuitously given to the owner. A description of Table Bay, with its adjacent land, may be acceptable to some readers; I shall therefore copy from a describer, who was one of the few saved from the Sceptre man of war, which was cast away in that bay, on the 5th of November, 1799, which, from observation, is believed to be very correct: "The Cape of Good Hope is the southernmost extremity of Africa. It has the appearance of a large island to those on board of ships, when they are at such a distance as not to be able to discern the connexion between the neck of

its mountains. All the land about the Cape is very lofty, but the highest and most remarkable is the Table Land a mountain about 3,400 feet high, quite level on the top, and falling down perpendicularly at both ends, till it joins with the high lands near it. The east part of the Table Land is connected with a high peaked hill, called the Lion's Head, or the Devil's Mount, and also Charles's Mount; its west part joins with another hill equally high, which, from its shape, has the name of the Sugar Loaf; and to the north-west of it is another mountain, much inferior in height, and called the Lion's Rump. On the top of these two last-mentioned mountains, the Dutch hoist flags when any ships are in sight.

"When the Table Land begins to be covered with a cloud, (which the sailors call the Devil's Tablecloth,) it indicates a strong east, or east-southeast wind; which, soon after the mountain is completely clouded, comes on and blows excessively hard, sometimes two or three days together. With this wind ships frequently part their cables, or bring both anchors ahead; therefore, it is usual, as soon as they are moored in the bay, to strike their yards and topmasts. The prevailing winds at the Cape of Good Hope are the southeast and northeast winds; the others seldom lasting longer than a few hours. The north and northwest winds commonly blow in hurricanes, and bring on foul weather. The southeast winds blow more or less in almost all the months of the year, but chiefly in the summer, or fair weather season, which generally continues from October to April. Some-

times violent northwest winds prevail for several days together, and by fits in the other months: the sky at this time is constantly clouded, and they generally end in rain. There is at one end of this bay an island called Penguin Island. To this, which is two miles long, and about one broad, the Dutch at the Cape banish their criminals, for a certain number of years, who are not thought worthy of death, and employ them as slaves in digging limestone; which, though scarce upon the continent, is in plenty here. No one is permitted to land upon that island, since a Danish ship (which by sickness had lost great part of her crew, and had been refused assistance at the Cape) went to this island, and, sending her boat on shore, secured the guard, and took on board as many of the criminals as they thought proper to navigate her home.

“The Cape town is neat and well built. The streets are broad and all parallel to each other, but not paved, and a great number of them are planted with oaks. There is one large square with trees planted round, and a canal of water from springs running down. The houses are very good with two stories high at most, and have a neat appearance on the outside; the greatest part of them is stuccoed and whitewashed, and some painted green, which altogether make a very pretty town; and, some few circumstances excepted, equal in neatness and convenience to any of our seaports in England.

“The inhabitants are of opinion that the high winds are a great blessing: for, say they, the climate is hot, and we stand so very low, that a common

breeze could not reach us, and the place would be very unhealthy. As it is, they enjoy a competent share of health, having but few sickly people amongst them; and yet, what is very extraordinary, their lives in general do not exceed fifty years, and vast numbers die between forty and fifty; so that a very old man or woman there is really a wonder. About twenty miles from Cape town is a remarkably large stone, called by the inhabitants the Tower of Babylon, or the Pearl Diamond. It stands on the top of some low hills, and is of an oblong shape, rounded on the top. The circumference of this stone is about half a mile, and its height equal to the dome of St. Paul's church in London. Except some fissures, it is one uninterrupted mass of stone, called, by the mineralogists, 'Saxum Conglutinatum.'"

While the Royal Admiral lay at the Cape, she was much exposed to a violent gale from the northwest, in consequence of which the topmasts and yards were lowered, and the cables veered away as much as possible; this wind lasted about twenty-four hours, but the ship rode very well. After remaining here two weeks, we received on board about ten passengers, and proceeded towards St. Helena, where we in a few days after arrived, without any thing particular having occurred; found one ship in port which had just arrived from Bengal, and was bound to London. This island, when viewed from the sea, bears a dismal aspect, being nearly surrounded with high bluff rocks, and the land about the coast appears unfruitful. The town is situated between two high mountains, and is



by no means a desirable residence. The ascent to the top of the mountains is effected by diagonal roads cut in their sides. There are various telegraphs stationed so as to convey information from every part of the island, when shipping appear on the coast. It is in general rocky and mountainous, but in the interior far from being barren, the valleys and mountains being pleasant and fertile. Mr. Foster informs us, that "having travelled about half a mile from the town into the country, he was transported with one of the finest prospects he ever beheld, consisting of several little hills, covered with rich verdure, and interspersed with fertile valleys, which contained gardens, orchards, and various plantations; that many pastures, surrounded by enclosures of stone, were filled with a small but a fine brood of cattle, and with English sheep; that every valley was watered by a little rivulet; and the mountains in the centre of the island were hung with woods. The soil which covered the rocks and mountains, was in general a rich mould, from six to ten inches deep, clothed with a variety of plants and shrubs, among which was a tree, which the inhabitants call a cabbage-tree, though only used for fuel, gum-trees, and redwood. In the governor's garden, about three miles from town, he saw several plants from Europe, Africa and America, and particularly a profusion of roses and lilies, interspersed with myrtle and laurel. Several walks of peach-trees were loaded with fruit, which had a peculiarly rich flavour, different from that of our peaches; but that other European fruit-trees thrive



but indifferently, and never bore fruit. Vines had been planted several times, but had not succeeded, on account of the climate; cabbages and other greens thrive extremely well, but are destroyed by caterpillars; barley and other kinds of corn are generally devoured by rats, which are immensely numerous; and for that reason, the ground was laid out chiefly in pastures, the verdure of which was surprising! The island could support 3,000 head of their small cattle; the beef is juicy, delicious and very fat; and the island, besides cattle, abounds with goats, rabbits, a small breed of horses, ring pheasants, red-legged partridges, rice birds, pigeons, &c. of some of which the breed is indigenous, but others have been brought from Africa, Europe, or the East Indies. The number of inhabitants on the island does not exceed 2,000, including near 500 soldiers, and 600 slaves, who are supplied with all sorts of manufactures and other necessaries by the company's ships in return for refreshments; and that many of the slaves were employed in catching fish, which are very plentiful." It lies between the continents of Africa and South America, about 1,200 miles W. of the former, and 1,800 E. of the latter. Long. 5° 40' W., lat. 15° 55' S.

We resumed our voyage from hence about the month of April, and arrived safe in England in July, 1802, without experiencing any thing remarkable in the passage from St. Helena. The first port we made was the Downs, where I received orders to proceed by land from Dover to London, with the company's despatches.

## CHAPTER XI:



The writer is united in marriage.—Enters into business.—Discouraging circumstances.—Remove to London.—A remarkable providence.—Embark for America, and arrive at New-York.—Engagement with the “Free School Society of New-York.”

**H**AVING arrived in London early the next morning, my first object was to inquire for my old friends, whom I shortly after found, though not without considerable difficulty, as their circumstances and situations had undergone many changes.

Upon the conclusion of my engagement with Captain W. my mind was employed upon another and much more important to me, viz. the consummation of the marriage treaty with D. M., which being consolidated, our minds were engaged respecting our future residence, when the town of Leicester, distant about 100 miles from London, presented a prospect of advantageously commencing business. In furnishing the store we were greatly aided by Captain W. who advanced considerable money, and through him we obtained credit with several of the London merchants: but, after a trial of several months, it did not

meet our expectations : we, therefore, closed that concern, and shortly after removed to London, where we hoped to meet with employment. On visiting our good friend Captain W. we inquired of him respecting the probability of obtaining employment, when, to our great sorrow, we were informed, that, to every situation which offered, there were more than twenty candidates in readiness, and that the hope of success, on my part, was very gloomy, in consequence of the universal depression of trade.

Various and unremitted exertions were made to procure employment, but all were fruitless, and as the contents of our *strong-box* was reduced to only a few shillings, our situation was rendered extremely dejecting !

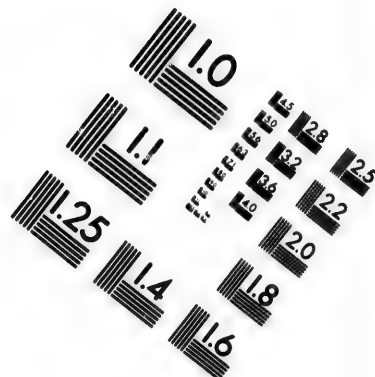
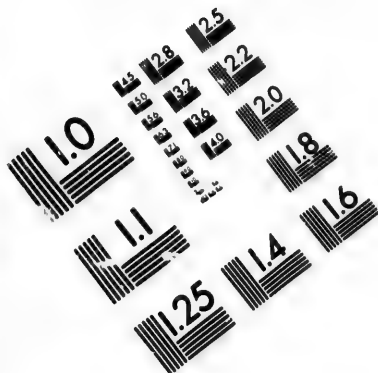
On my arrival from Horndon, in Essex, (where I had been in pursuit of the office of teacher to a school in that place,) we were unexpectedly visited by a Mr. Cook, (of the house of Wallis, Cook and Hammond, merchants in London,) who interrogated me respecting my qualification for business, &c. and whether we should have any objection to go to America. This interview terminated in a request that I should wait on the other gentlemen of the firm the following morning ; to which attendance was accordingly given. The result of this visit was an engagement with these gentlemen, at one hundred pounds sterling per annum ; and to proceed direct for New-York, to their agent Mr. B. P., then resident in Pearl-street. This proposition was most cheerfully acceded to on my part, as scarcely any thing could

have been more gratifying to my wishes, having but a few days previous endeavoured to obtain a passage in a vessel that was bound to Philadelphia, to serve in any capacity as a compensation for the passage; but the captain insisted that if I went with him, the price of the passage should be immediately paid in *cash*; this requisition being altogether incompatible with my purse, I was obliged to relinquish the idea of arriving in America by this conveyance.

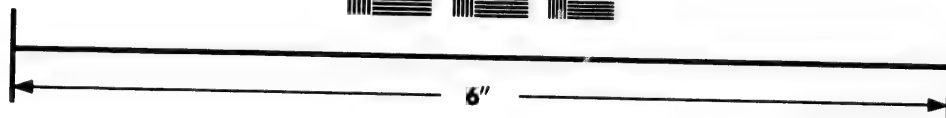
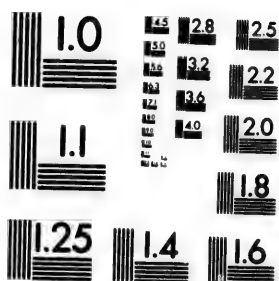
In two days after my engagement with Messrs. W., C. & H., the ship *South Carolina*, commanded by Robert M. Steel, was under sailing orders for New-York, in which myself and family embarked, on the 15th of June, 1804, and after a prosperous voyage of 52 days, without experiencing any thing very remarkable, we arrived in New-York on the 9th of August. We were very kindly welcomed by Mr. B. P., who gratuitously accommodated us at his house, with his furniture, &c. about two months; his family then residing at Greenwich. For several days after our arrival, instead of being placed immediately at the desk, I was indulged with the privilege of seeing the different parts of the city, and adjacent country; which afforded no small gratification, especially after such a tedious voyage.

After being engaged with my new employer about three months, I was recognised by my old friend Henry Miller, who had resided many years in Pearl-street, and had accumulated considerable wealth in the trunk manufactory. At about this time many persons were supposed to amass abundant riches in





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the dry-good business, and as the stand which my friend possessed, being considered preferable to many, induced him to relinquish his former occupation, and to commence in the new, which appeared to him to offer greater advantages; but as he was ignorant of the various branches of that business, I was strongly solicited by him to enter into copartnership. In consequence of my engagement with Mr. P., an affirmative could not consistently be given, together with my want of property, would be a barrier against such a union: these objections, however, were soon removed, by the proposition being submitted to Mr. P. who acceded to my leaving his employ, supposing that the copartnership would be much more to my interest; and, as it respects the other objection, no property on my part was required. We accordingly entered upon the concern, which was continued about nine months, when finding it not to answer our expectations, the copartnership, by mutual consent, was dissolved.

Upon the conclusion of this engagement, I resolved to open a school, and as a favourable situation offered at 222 Greenwich-street, I accordingly commenced: and as there were several of my friends residing in that neighbourhood, their children were sent, and the number in a few days increased to about fifty or sixty scholars; these encouragements at the beginning afforded a comfortable prospect of success. At this period, a book on education, published by the celebrated *Joseph Lancaster*, was presented for my perusal; and the numerous and great advantages

therein specified, were recommended to be adopted in my school. After a careful examination of his plan, the arrangement of the respective classes, and the simplicity of the management, by which a much greater number of scholars could be taught, and that their advantages of more rapid improvement were self-evident, no time on my part was required as to the propriety of its immediate adoption. It was accordingly introduced, and crowned with the happiest effects; though, in a few solitary instances, objections were made to the use of monitors; but after an explanation of their business, and the manifest improvement of the scholars generally, these difficulties soon subsided.

After a continuance in this school about six months, I obtained ample proof of Mr. Lancaster's system being the most eligible, both to the teacher and scholars; and that its introduction into schools of any description will be attended with superior advantages.

At this period it was communicated to me that a number of the most respectable citizens of New-York, conceiving that the establishment of free schools for the education of such poor children as do not belong to, or are not provided for by, the respective religious denominations, might be productive of much utility, convened for the purpose of deliberating on the subject. A resolution was passed at this meeting, that a memorial should be prepared, soliciting of the legislature an act of incorporation, under the title of "The Society for establishing a Free School in

the City of New-York." The importance of the subject contained in the memorial was perfectly apparent to the legislature, and an act of incorporation was, therefore, without any opposition, immediately granted. Upon which, thirteen trustees, composed chiefly of persons with whom the plan of the institution originated, were elected in the spring of 1805, agreeably to the provision in the charter. The trustees, after many adverse circumstances, resolved to commence their arduous undertaking; and having been made acquainted with my humble attempt to introduce the Lancasterian system into New-York, and that it was attended with the expected advantages, among the many teachers who offered themselves, the preference was given to me to superintend their school; which was opened in May, 1806, in a small apartment in Bancker-street. Its appearance was in every respect as humble as were the unhappy objects whose improvement in it was contemplated.

For further information respecting the mode of instruction invented by Joseph Lancaster, together with the rise and progress of the New-York Free School, the reader is referred to a book on that subject, published by Collins & Co., Pearl-street.

## APPENDIX.



**T**O gratify curiosity and acquire wealth have excited men to engage in the most dangerous enterprises, and to encounter the greatest difficulties; hence, distant regions have been explored, sources of commerce opened, and much gain procured by the adventurers; but religion has seldom occupied the attention of the navigator, and, though professing christians have visited most regions of the globe, many of its inhabitants have reason to think unfavourably of christianity.

Influenced by principles purely disinterested, and to recommend religious instruction to the heathen, by the amiable conduct of suitable teachers, the Missionary Society was formed, and in a short time enabled, by very liberal subscriptions, to purchase and equip a very handsome vessel, the *Duff*, for the conveyance of Missionaries.

In consequence of a memoir addressed to the society, by a very zealous friend and generous contributor, it was resolved, That the first Missionary Voyage should be made to the islands of the South

Sea; and the ship was put under the command of Captain James Wilson, a gentleman whose piety, fortitude and perseverance entitle him to universal esteem; who, after experiencing a series of extreme distresses in the East Indies, and having acquired a competent fortune, volunteered his services, left a most delightful spot which he had purchased for his retirement, and gratuitously took the command of the ship to further the benevolent designs of the society.

The life of this exemplary character should not be passed over without some notice; it contains so much incident as to be highly interesting, which a brief mention of some particulars will be sufficient to prove. Brought up to the sea from his earliest years, when very young he obtained a birth as mate of an East-Indiaman, and, upon his arrival at Bengal, he determined to abide in that country; and, accordingly, spent the chief part of his life in the East Indies; prior to which he had been in America, and served at the battles of Bunker's Hill, and of Long Island.

The limits of this appendix prevent the insertion of the many wonderful occurrences in Captain Wilson's life, during his continuance in the east: some of the most particular can only be noticed.

During the war with Hyder Ally, he was employed to carry stores for the British army, and readily undertook a voyage from Madras to Cuddalore, to supply the army under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, which was then in extreme distress, their provisions being nearly exhausted; and, as they were sur-

rounded by Hyder Ally's army, no supplies could reach them by land; and though several ships were at Madras, laden with provisions for their relief, they were afraid to attempt the passage, as the French fleet lay at Pondicherry, which was directly in the course they must take. But Captain Wilson being applied to by the governor of Madras, he undertook the service with five ships under his command, and passed Pondicherry in the night, so near as to see the French flag flying from the mast-head, and escaped being captured by the following circumstance:

Suffrein, the French admiral, had sent his water-casks on shore to be filled, and they lay on the beach. Sir Eyre Coote had detached a corps of grenadiers and light infantry, who entered Pondicherry, and destroyed the casks; this induced Suffrein to run down to Point de Gall, to repair the loss, just at the moment when Captain Wilson was in the offing. As Suffrein's ships sailed so much better than his, they were off Cuddalore in the morning, and Captain Wilson arrived in the afternoon, thus escaping and bringing in the whole of the cargoes committed to his care, and so much wanted by the army. They had then been reduced to their last forty-five bags of paddy, and not a grain of rice to be procured. This supply rescued them from the impending famine, or the necessity of cutting their way through the enemy; and was the means of God's good providence for the preservation of the army and the Carnatic.

Returning in safety to Bengal, he was employed in carrying supplies, and in one of these voyages, when

going with a very valuable cargo of military stores for Sir Edward Hughes, whose ammunition had been nearly exhausted in the well known conflict with Suffrein, he was taken and carried into Cuddalore, which was then in the possession of the French, where he found the crew of the Hannibal in the same captivity. He was permitted to be at large on his parole, and hoped shortly to be exchanged.

Hyder Ally having bribed Suffrein to surrender up to him all his prisoners at Cuddalore, Captain Wilson, as soon as he received the intelligence from the commander of the fort, determined that very night to attempt his escape from a confinement which was to him worse than death. This resolution he put in practice with his servant, a Bengalese boy.

About seven o'clock they ascended the rampart, the captain leaped down, and pitched on his feet; but the shock of so great a descent, about forty feet, occasioned his chin to strike against his knees, and tumbled him headlong into the river. Recovering himself, and returning to the foot of the wall, where there was a dry bank, he bid the boy drop down, and caught him safe in his arms!

All that part of the Tanjore country is low, and intersected with a number of rivers branching off from the great Coleroon. He inquired of the boy if he could swim, and found he could not; he therefore took him on his back and carried him safe over, and then made for Porto Nuovo, about four leagues and a half from Cuddalore. They had passed three arms of the river, and advanced at as great a pace



as they possibly could to make use of the night, since their hope of safety depended chiefly on the distance they could reach before the morning light. Not far from Porto Nuovo, a Seapoy challenged, on which they shrunk back and concealed themselves, turning down to the river side, which in that place was very wide, and being near the sea, the tide ran in with great rapidity. He took the boy on his back as before, and bid him be sure only to hold by his hands, and cast his legs behind him; but when they came among the breakers, the boy was frightened, and clung around the captain with his legs so fast, as almost to sink him, which forced him to return to the shore, and recommending the boy to a friend, plunged again into the stream, and pushed for the opposite shore; but he found the tide running upwards so strong, that in spite of all his efforts he was carried along with the current, and constrained, at considerable distance, to return to the same side of the river. At the place where he landed, he discovered by the moonlight, on the beach, a canoe, which he seized, and was drawing down to the river, when two blacks rushed upon him, and demanded whither he was going with the boat. At his request they rowed him to the opposite shore, where he found he had as great a distance to pass to the Coleroon as he had already travelled; and continuing his course with full speed, before break of day reached this largest arm of the river, of which those which he had crossed were branches. Exhausted with the fatigue he had undergone, and dismayed with the width of this mighty

stream, he stood for a moment hesitating on the brink; considering his danger, he stretched out his arms to the flood, and pressed for the shore. With the light of the morning he had reached the land, and flattered himself that all his dangers were past, and his liberty secured; he ascended a sand bank to look about him, and to his terror and surprise perceived a party of Hyder's horse scouring the coast; being discovered by them, they galloped up to him; in a moment seized, stripped him naked, and, tying his hands behind his back, drove him before them to the head-quarters, several miles distant, under a burning sun, and covered with blisters. He supposes he must have gone that night and day more than forty miles, besides all the rivers he had crossed.

The officer at the head-quarters was a Mahometan, who had interrogated him, Captain Wilson gave him an ingenuous account of his escape from Cuddalore, with the circumstances attending his flight. The moorman looked angrily at him, and said *jute bat*, "that is a lie," as no man ever yet passed the Coleeroon by swimming, for if he had but dipped the tip of his finger in it, the alligators would have seized him; but the captain giving him such evidence of the fact that he could no longer doubt the relation, he lifted up his hands and cried out, *Gouda ka Adami!* "This is God's man."

He was immediately marched back to Cuddalore, and thrust into a dungeon with the meanest captives. Chained to a common soldier, they brought him out of his prison almost famished, and nearly naked, to

march him to Seringapatam, about five hundred miles. The only relief the officers could afford him was a few clothes, which his inhuman conductors soon deprived him of, goading him on before them all the day, and thrusting him at night into a damp unwholesome prison, crowded with miserable objects. In addition to his other sufferings, he was seized with the flux; and, when he arrived at Seringapatam, naked, diseased, and half starved, he was thrust into a noisome prison, destitute of food and medicine, loaded with irons weighing thirty-two pounds, with one hundred and fifty-three fellow sufferers, chiefly Higalanders of Colonel Macleod's regiment.

Here he remained two and twenty months. The prison was a square, around the walls of which was a kind of barrack for the guard; in the middle was a covered place open on all sides, exposed to the wind and rain. There, without any bed but the earth, or covering but the rags wrapped around him, he was chained to another prisoner, and often so cold that they have dug a hole in the earth and buried themselves in it, as some defence from the chilling blasts of the night. Their whole allowance was only a pound of rice a day per man, and one rupee for forty days, or one pice a day, less than a penny, to provide salt and firing to cook the rice. A state of raging hunger was never appeased by an allowance scarcely able to maintain life; and the rice so full of stones that he could not chew, but was obliged to swallow it; and he was often afraid to trust his own fingers in his mouth lest he should be tempted to bite

them. Such was his miserable situation that often the dead corpse was unchained from his arm in the morning, that another living sufferer might take his place, and fall by the same diseases which daily thinned their numbers. Though he entered this wretched abode of misery almost exhausted by fatigue and disease, yet he had recovered from the flux, and for a year maintained a state of health beyond his fellows; but worn down with misery, cold, hunger and nakedness, he was attacked with the usual symptoms which had carried off so many others. His body enormously distended, his thighs as big as his waist before, and his face sadly bloated, death seemed to have seized him for his prey.

Reduced now to the extremity of weakness, his chains too straight to be endured, and threatening mortification, he was released from them to lie down and die. The soldier to whom he was last chained had served him with great affection, and, thinking it might alleviate his pain, entreated he might spend for oil the daily pice, about three farthings, and anoint his legs; but the captain objected, by observing, that he would then have nothing to buy firing and salt to cook the next day's provision. Sam shook his head, and said, "Master, before that I fear you will be dead, and never want it!" But who can tell what a day may bring forth? He had exchanged his allowance of rice that day for a small species of gram, called ratche pier, which he eagerly devoured, and being very thirsty he drank the liquor in which they were boiled, and this produced such an amazing eva-

evacuation, that in the course of a few hours he was reduced to a skeleton; and, though greatly weakened, he was completely relieved, and recommended the trial with success to many of his fellow prisoners. After remaining in this wretched prison the period before stated, he was liberated with the rest of the British captives, when only thirty-two remained out of one hundred and fifty-three, to relate the dismal tale of their sufferings.

Being restored from a fever, occasioned by eating too eagerly and plentifully, he proceeded to Madras. Lord Macartney had forwarded a supply of clothes, which not being sufficient to equip the whole, some had one thing and some another. Captain Wilson had a very large military hat, a banyan, and pantaloons with many a breach; in this habit, which made him very much resemble a maniac, he hastened to a friend, whose name was Ellis, and knocking at the door, inquired of the servants for their master and mistress. The footmen stared at him, and said they were not at home, and were shutting the door against him, when he pressed in, rushed by them, and threw himself down on a sofa. The servants were Mahometans, who hold the insane in much reverence, and such they supposed him; and being left quietly to repose himself, his friends found him on their return in a profound sleep, in which state they left him till the evening; when the lustres were lighted, and several friends assembled, curious to hear the story of his miserable captivity.

He again engaged in the sea service, and after many signal and providential deliverances, realized a for-



tune, and settled at Horndon, in Hampshire, which retirement he cheerfully left to undertake the navigating of the Duff. and expose himself to fresh difficulties.

When the reader is informed that Captain Wilson was an avowed infidel, and even opposed christianity, he must be surprised to find him a zealous agent to promote what he once despised, and desirous to know by what means such a change of sentiment and alteration of conduct was produced.

After the captain's settlement at Horndon, he providentially met with a book, written by Colonel Burn, addressed to military officers, upon the subject of religion; this work excited his curiosity, fixed his attention, and deeply impressed his mind with a sense of the importance of religion, which became the subject of his meditation and pursuit, and produced in his mind an earnest desire to promote the happiness of mankind. The Missionary Society afforded him an opportunity to give an unequivocal evidence of the sincerity of his profession, and the ardency of his zeal.

In addition to the ample materials afforded by the accounts of the Missionary Society, an officer who was on board the ship has kindly furnished some original and interesting particulars, which will render the work highly acceptable.

